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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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AUSTRIAN NEUTRALITY, STRATEGIC POSITION DISCUSSED

Munich EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE in German No 8, 8 Aug 80 pp 387-393

[Article by Josef Marolz*: "Austria: Exposed Flank in Europe or Part of Neutral Cordon?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

/Text/ Increased tension in the world and its effect on Europe and military developments in Austria have given and still give Austria's neighbors cause for comment upon Austria's position strategically and otherwise.

The FRG and Switzerland in particular have made comments and have been expressing misgivings rather than hope, at least up to the fall of 1979. The present writer has no intention of either dispelling these misgivings or of ~~raising~~ high hopes; he simply means to describe the situation from the /Austrian/ point of view. The title of the article should therefore be understood as a query put to Austria by the outside world whereas the content of the article represents the author's attempt to provide a personal answer to it. This very approach is in itself significant: as a neutral country, Austria is not in a position to pursue an active, but only a reactive strategy.

By assessing hypotheses and facts which are known as such, this article will attempt to give a picture of Austria's inherent strategic potential. There are many ways of assessing this potential. But the more carefully the assessment is made, the more clearly and convincingly can threats be qualified and quantified and can measures and reactions up to and including dissuasion be expected-- by all concerned.

* The author is a colonel, a member of the general staff and chief instructor at the Austrian national defense academy.

The article is subdivided into the following sections:

1. Assumptions and participants
2. Hypotheses
3. Facts
4. Implications
5. Summary and conclusion

Assumptions and Participants

Neutral Austria neither poses a threat to anyone nor does it feel concretely threatened in any way. What follows is an hypothetical analysis, solely intended to clarify military-geographic-strategic considerations. But, in a world which has not yet banned force as an instrument for the attainment of political aims, it is a valid analysis.

1. The following observations are based on the assumption of a warlike confrontation between the major power blocs in Europe or at least in Central Europe. A threat to Austria by /one/ of its neighbors --either on bilateral, international grounds or as a surrogate for one of the power blocs-- will not be discussed here.

2. The following analysis will deal exclusively with the pact systems bordering on Austria or its members and with non-aligned Yugoslavia and neutral Switzerland.

3. Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact possess nuclear weapons; Austria, Yugoslavia and Switzerland do not. They are therefore plainly susceptible to nuclear blackmail. But this, too, will not be discussed. This subject would have to be investigated separately. We will therefore assume that the force applied against Austria, Yugoslavia and Switzerland is of a conventional nature.

4. Whereas there is no particular value attached to the term "flank", the term "cordon" is associated with the positive idea of closing something off or withholding it.

Since we will not get to these value concepts until somewhat further on, we will be speaking first of the geographic flank position peculiar to Austria.

* In ordinary military usage, however, the term "flank" often has a negative connotation, namely that of an exposed position.

Austria could become the flank of all pact systems and countries which surround it except Switzerland in case the main lines of confrontation run in an east-west or west-east direction. Initially, the extent (quantity) of flank is determined solely by the length of the borderline separating Austria from its neighbors. These are the pertinent figures:

Austria-FRG	787 km
Austria-Italy	<u>430 km</u>
Total	1,217 km
Austria-CSSR	548 km
Austria-Hungary	<u>366 km</u>
Total	914 km
Austria-Yugoslavia	311 km

As can be seen, NATO's flank is just about 300 km or 25 percent longer than that of the Warsaw Pact. Viewed from this angle, NATO could be faced by the more serious problem.

But these figures take on meaning only when the topographical features of the borders are taken into consideration. Of the FRG border, 60 percent consist of mountains; 30 percent may be counted as "wet" and only 10 percent, more or less to one side, can be termed "green."

The Austro-Italian frontier is all mountain. The Yugoslav-Austrian frontier is half mountain and half "wet" and/or "green." Considering the fact that border crossings become easier as one moves from the mountains to the "green" zones, would it be correct to say that the Warsaw Pact flanks are more vulnerable than those of the FRG or of Italy?

5. Austria is a country committed to maintaining its neutrality. It is therefore in its very own interest that the flanks of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or Yugoslavia remain intact.

6. Both pact systems are in a position to disregard Austria's neutrality.

But it should be clearly reiterated that no one is being accused of harboring such intentions. Although history offers examples to the contrary, a neutral country must start from the assumption that no member of the community of nations has plans of committing such a grave violation of the tenets of international law.

7. Finally, it should be noted that present (conventional) force levels are being used as a rough base for the analysis. But since we are dealing with long-range projections, we must leave a certain margin for alterations and options. Nonetheless, a rather significant conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact over the NATO forces may be assumed even under these conditions.

Hypotheses

All the hypotheses put forward in western publications concerning the conduct of conventional warfare in Europe start out with a rapid Warsaw Pact advance to the Rhine and then, westward to the Atlantic.

A hypothetical advance by NATO forces to the Oder and the Vistula, however, must be given equal treatment in an analysis such as this irrespective of the likelihood of this particular scenario.

It might at any rate be said at this juncture that force ratios are not the only factors determining probability calculations.

/Hypothesis 1 (see Figure 1)/

Taking advantage of all terrain suitable for mechanized operations, Warsaw Pact forces push westward along a wide front from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea in order to bring about a quick decision. The Warsaw Pact might be forced (somewhat as the German Reich was in 1914 and in 1941) to make use of the neutral territory of Austria for operational reasons.

Yugoslavia, the center and the left flank of the forces stationed in the FRG are in contact with the Warsaw Pact forces immediately; the right flank of the forces stationed in the FRG as well as Italy are protected from the Warsaw Pact elements by a "neutral" buffer zone 300 km wide.

Even if the Warsaw Pact operation were to catch NATO entirely unawares, Austria's buffer function would make it possible for NATO in Bavaria, in Friuli and Venezia Giulia (where Yugoslavia fulfills the same function) to react to the Warsaw Pact attack via Austria and/or Yugoslavia.

Since the western part of Austria separates Bavaria from Friuli and Venezia Giulia, joint operations by these two NATO elements could only be effected via the Swiss mountain passes or via the Mont Blanc* and the Mont Cenis -- a circuitous route-- or otherwise, via Austria.

NATO could, if it has the wherewithal, confront the Warsaw Pact forces sooner on Austrian soil by launching a west-to-east push, approximately to a line reaching to the Danube, the Enns and the lower reaches of the Mur River. In this way, Austria is drawn into the conflict by design-- first by the Warsaw Pact and subsequently by NATO.

/Hypothesis 2 (see Figure 2)/

The starting point being similar to Hypothesis 1, but Austria is left untouched by the Warsaw Pact and Yugoslavia exercises a very pronounced buffer function.

But Warsaw Pact forces advance through the FRG north of the Danube, reaching the Rhine. Bavaria now becomes a kind of bridgehead

/in a positive sense/ by posing a potential threat to the left flank of the Warsaw Pact forces;

/in a negative sense/ by being itself threatened from the north and by having a mountainous, neutral barrier at its back.

For NATO to improve upon its operational situation and/or to salvage its position as such, its forces would obviously have to leave this bridgehead and move north. If the NATO forces available for this purpose are strong enough, Austria has nothing to worry about. If they are not, there is the possibility of moving up reinforcements from the unaffected areas in and/or via Italy and the neutral mountain barrier, at least by air. This option takes on greater urgency, the nearer the Warsaw Pact forces get to the Belfort Gap or if they manage to close it altogether.

To be sure, it would be possible to strike at the Czech-Moravian plain through Austria; but this would require an extremely large force.

* The distance from Verona to Munich is about 300 km by way of Innsbruck and about 900 km by way of the Mont Blanc.

/Hypothesis 3 (see Figure 3)/

The situation is the same as in Hypothesis 2; only this time the Warsaw Pact overcomes Yugoslavia, reaches the lowlands of northern Italy and succeeds in pushing NATO Southern Command forces into the South Tyrol (the Apennines). No matter what the situation in the FRG is like, whether Warsaw Pact forces have reached the Rhine as in Hypothesis 2 or not, the South Tyrol bridgehead makes action imperative. (Field marshal Conrad tried it in 1916 when he launched the South Tyrol offensive).

In this situation, too, the narrow western portion of Austria is threatened.

/Hypothesis 4 (see Figure 4)/

In the three hypotheses outlined thus far, Austrian territory and its occupation served NATO and the Warsaw Pact as a pretext and a case of need for /active, operational/ measures designed to defeat the opponent on his own turf. Hypothesis 4 is based on the assumption that neither NATO, nor the Warsaw Pact place any faith in Austria's buffer role, for whatever reason. Not satisfied with the flank protection the Austrian frontier affords, they move their flank onto Austrian soil--eastward or westward as the case may be.

This advance may be effected consecutively or simultaneously. The operational goals chosen by NATO or the Warsaw Pact might be easily defensible lines such as rivers or mountain ranges. The line mentioned in Hypothesis 1 might also apply in this case.

This hypothesis may also be based on the fact that the two pact systems do not as yet have sufficient forces for an active operation in the opponent's depth and must therefore content themselves with limited actions.**

* The same situation obtained in Belgium in 1941.

** The operations in the depth of the NATO area described in Hypotheses 1 and 2 must provide for the capability of decisive action once the operational goal is reached and of still disposing of the necessary forces. The forces operating against Austria must therefore be divided in two: one group is used to break down Austrian resistance and the other to fight the actual opponent.

/Summary of hypotheses/

All these hypotheses plainly show Austria to be in a difficult position. Unlike Switzerland, it is bound to become involved in a NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation from the very beginning.

These hypotheses proceed from the assumption that neither NATO, nor the Warsaw Pact actually have plans to overwhelm Austria but that there are decisions and events resulting from developments outside Austria which then inevitably affect Austria.

Thus, Austria is included in NATO and Warsaw Pact operational plans because of a desire for protection on the one hand and because of the need to defeat the opponent on the other. And so, we are not only posing the question of the exposed flank, which appears in the title of this article, but also the question of how Austria can keep from becoming an operations zone for NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Facts

The hypotheses we have advanced ought first of all to proceed from the spatial, so as not to say analytical-geometric relationship between Austria and its surroundings as well as from a posture of impartiality.

In their assessments, the NATO and Warsaw Pact general staffs will of course include some additional, decisive factors. These are:

/Geographic shape/

The wasp-waist (or rather the narrow appendage) of western Austria touches or favors only NATO in the first instance. Eastern Austria has a more or less circular shape, not unlike Switzerland. The conditions applying to NATO and the Warsaw Pact in this area would be the same.

/Topography/

Austria is a mountainous country which therefore offers little terrain for maneuvering. The length of Austria from Lake Constance in the far west to the Danube at Vienna is traversed by the main ridge of the Alps. Even minor destruction of transport routes would seriously delay the advance of any aggressor.

making his way through the Austrian mountains. The greater the depth of the mountainous terrain to be traversed is, the greater the delay factor will be. The distance is greatest, namely about 300 km, from Salzburg to Szombathely or vice versa. In the Danube valley, however, the topography changes abruptly. This valley and the Alpine crossing points are discussed in the section immediately below.

/Military roads/

Two lines traversing Austria may be characterized as military roads of the first order.

The aforementioned Danube valley with a line branching off to the west at Linz toward Salzburg can be used by mechanized formations on a broad front. The narrowest point of the valley is situated at Ybbs where the Alps come up to about 15 km of the Danube.

The Brenner line, however, exceeds the Danube valley in its importance for Central Europe because this is where lowest lying all-weather Alpine crossing is located. But the Brenner line --as millions of tourists who use the Autobahn athwart this route for their trips to the south each year will bear out-- is not suited to the operations of mechanized units. Unlike the Danube valley, it would be difficult to open it up.

The most difficult section of the Brenner line, the Wipp valley, however, is not even 40 km long. The time it would take to open up either the Danube valley or the Brenner line ought therefore to be about the same.

As compared to the Brenner line and the Danube valley, other operations lines that are frequently cited --Vienna, Semmering; Wechsel, Graz, Spielfeld; Szombathely, Graz, Pack, Klagenfurt, Villach-- are of merely secondary importance, since these lines run parallel to the Yugoslav-Austrian frontier. If the Warsaw Pact wanted to invade Yugoslavia or Italy or NATO wanted to invade Yugoslavia or Hungary, they would find excellent roads to ease their way but poor topography to lengthen it and make it more difficult.

Another route through the Alps leading from the Semmering via Muerz, Schober Pass, Enns, Salzach valley, Inn valley and Arlberg to the Ill valley is the line that may be said to aim directly at Switzerland; but to use it, would mean to sacrifice a lot of time. That is why Austria's flank function

vis-a-vis Switzerland was not even considered at the outset. If the Warsaw Pact forces actually took the trouble of using the transverse route through the Alps, the Swiss ought to have enough time to ready their defenses.

Since World War II two new "military roads" through Austria have evolved: the guest worker routes. They lead from Salzburg south via the Tauern Autobahn and southeast via the Pyhrn Autobahn to the Balkans. The excellent condition of these roads makes them worthy of consideration as lines of operation.

Military Potential

As a neutral country, Austria is willing and able to make military use of its natural defense capabilities. Austria can call on the following military resources:

180,000 soldiers in
1 armored infantry division
1 air division
2 corps with
8 rifle brigades and
32 infantry regiments supported by the appropriate headquarters units.

Heavy equipment includes 1,000 armored combat vehicles; a sophisticated anti-aircraft gun system (effective up to 4,000 m); several hundred field pieces and anti-tank gun emplacements. Also available is an effective air surveillance system consisting of 40 jet airplanes suitable for reconnaissance and minor fire support missions. The Austrian air force also has considerable tactical air transport capability consisting of some 50 helicopters and 20 light airplanes.

Aerial defense capability will be increased considerably over the next few years as interceptors are commissioned. Austria will be strengthening her military capabilities until well into the nineties.

Plans are first of all to increase personnel levels to about 300,000. Austria also has a potential of about one million trained soldiers at its disposal.

This potential is employed as part of the /area defense/ system. Area defense is based on keeping possible aggressors from using the operations lines which lead through Austria.

This is accomplished by

- waging a concentrated, massive battle in the key zones (being those zones the aggressor must control in order to carry on operations) and
- waging a battle of attrition in area security zones (being those zones which are of secondary importance for the aggressor).

In drawing up his basic plans, the aggressor must therefore count on:

- massive resistance in those areas he, too, knows to be key zones
- constant interference and harassment of his forces in all other sections of the country.

Since speed is of the essence for the success of the operation, a determination must be made as to whether the time required for crossing Austrian territory justifies the goal to be attained-- unless the combination of topography, force levels and defense system has not had a dissuasive effect on the aggressor to start with.

Implications

As the various hypotheses were analyzed, it was determined that Austria as such was not a target for aggression. Under the circumstances, any desire to draw Austria into a military conflict would be based on the following considerations:

1. Austria's buffer function is not deemed strong enough to keep the other pact system at arm's length.
2. The operations lines leading through Austria are absolutely essential to the conduct of one's own military operations.

In discussing the facts, we came to the conclusion that Austria's geography, topography and military potential in themselves constitute a set of circumstances which serve on the one hand

- to afford the passive party, meaning the party concerned about preserving the buffer

function, a certain guarantee for his need to be protected

- and on the other hand to provide a certain element of dissuasion to the active party, meaning the one who intends to violate Austria's neutrality for operational reasons.

A decisive factor (both for NATO and the Warsaw Pact) is how to evaluate the nature of Austria's buffer function as well as her defense capabilities.

This leads to a strange but perfectly normal situation: Austria is called upon to deal with the concerns both of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In concrete terms, this means among other things:

- Austria provides flank protection for NATO against a CSSR-launched operation against APCENT's southern flank.
- But Austria also offers the Warsaw Pact the guarantee that the NATO bridgehead in Bavaria cannot be reinforced from Italy via Austrian soil and thus remains inactive (as intended).

But this effect is /the/ obligation the neutral country must fulfill.

Austria can fulfill both functions equally, by devising a defense strategy.

The effectiveness, intensity and nature of it is best explained by looking at the three geographic zones separately.

In the center of Austria where the Alps are at their deepest (always using the main east-west or west-east operations line as our point of reference) where the topography places natural limits on any advance, a minimum force will be able to achieve maximum effectiveness.

In the West --turning the operational direction from east-west to north-south or south-north as the case may be-- the depth of terrain is very slight but the topography is pronounced which means that here too relatively small forces will achieve the desired results.

The situation is different in the northern part of Austria. The weakness of the terrain there must be compensated for by the introduction of far stronger and more qualified forces than in the west or the center. In the north, then, it is above all the military potential which contributes to the effectiveness of the protective factor (the buffer function) or of dissuasion. Is the Austrian army up to this task?

It is, because the depth of the terrain here in itself constitutes a time factor for the aggressor. It can concentrate its forces here, since they are correspondingly mobile. And, since it is aware of the importance of the area (the Danube valley) it can make preparations in peacetime designed to strengthen the defense potential of the area. Austria has done so in the past and will be increasing these efforts in the future. The defense buildup places high priority on territorial fortification. But there is no denying that the Austrian military machine is at a disadvantage in conventional arms.

At this time, Austria is not permitted to own missiles -- which would above all be needed in the tactical area-- and must attempt to substitute for them by the use of other systems such as assault tanks and radar-directed anti-aircraft guns. The accent here may not be on lesser fighting quality as much as on greater expenditure. Even if the enemy on the ground can be met effectively in this manner and the terrain can also be strengthened, air defense will continue to be a difficult problem, since Austria's means may suffice to purchase quality but not enough in terms of quantity. (But, for that matter, which pact system or which country can in fact possess an absolute air defense system?)

The assertion that Austria must submit completely to NATO and Warsaw Pact air supremacy can be countered in the following manner:

1. At least in any first phase, Austria will not become the primary area of NATO and Warsaw Pact operations. The air forces of the two pact systems will be devoting their attention to other war zones. Only part of their forces will be available for action against Austria and will not be permanently effective.

2. The operational/tactical dispositions of the Austrian army take enemy air superiority into account. That is why great emphasis is placed upon:

- reducing operational movements particularly vulnerable to air attack to a minimum

- introducing technical measures prepared during peacetime to protect military units wherever they can be dispersed

- massing air defense capability at truly important points.

3. Darkness and bad weather --even though the latter is an indeterminate factor-- reduce the time available for air strikes drastically.*

There is a general assumption that Austria's potential is too weak in absolute terms as compared to the surrounding area. But this argument can be countered by pointing out that there is a direct relationship between available terrain and Austria's forces as against those of an aggressor. The saturation of the Alpine area is reached at a relatively early stage while that of the open parts of the country is possible by concentrating forces there as we said before. It is self-evident that the bulk of the Austrian army is dislocated in these open parts of the country.

If the fundamental question is raised as to whether the military capability of a people numbering 7 million exhausts itself in an army numbering 180,000 or 300,000 men, one could point out that NATO force levels in relation to population are below those of Austria in percentage terms.

Summary and Conclusion

The author has been trying to develop a guiding idea but not to declare it openly as yet. The idea, of course, is an assumption: That pact system which harbors doubts as to the strength of the neutral latch and thinks of Austria as an exposed flank might be more sorely tempted to violate Austrian

* During the entire 8 days of the large-scale Austrian army exercise in the Danube valley in November 1979 it was impossible to commit any air power due to bad weather. Although this is merely cited as an example, it is meant to show that such weather conditions are not atypical for a mountainous country in Central Europe.

neutrality than that pact system which harbors such doubts to a lesser extent. Let the reader of EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE decide for himself as to which of the two variants he considers more likely.

That is why Hypothesis 1 (violation of neutrality by the Warsaw Pact at the very /outset/ of hostilities) did not assume an exactly identical action on the part of NATO. Another reason for it was that NATO, unlike the Warsaw Pact, as we noted earlier, does not have the necessary (conventional) forces at its disposal to make an offensive move against Austria. But conversely, NATO cannot exclude the possibility of strategic constraints. Using our --negative-- guiding idea as a point of departure, we can now come up with a positive answer addressed to both sides: the neutral latch can hold.

The basis for our answer is the assumption that any aggressor would have to cross Austria /rapidly/. It is difficult to say what "rapidly" means in this context; it signifies a lesser period of time than is needed for the execution of operational decisions by the pact system which was attacked via Austrian territory. Given the narrow confines of the Central European area and the extreme density and mobility of forces, it must be assumed that major operational regroupings would not take longer than 48 hours. This is the time frame NATO and the Warsaw Pact both would have to allow Austria on the basis of its geography and topography that could delay the movement of troops through the country.

Austria is able to muster the equivalent of several divisions on any operations line, even in maneuverable terrain. This must decisively contribute to stretching the 48-hour time frame or to making it indeterminate altogether so as to exclude operational surprises (for the other party). This might be one way of achieving the dissuasive effect desired by Austria. This military course of action is supported by the fact that actions taken against Austria are consequences of antecedent operations. The country thus is forewarned and can prepare accordingly to meet an aggression.* But the aggressor

* Military preparations, particularly mobilization measures on the part of a neutral may become necessary in times of crisis and are not considered to be of an escalatory nature. They are not a threat but in fact constitute an additional security factor for all neighboring countries.

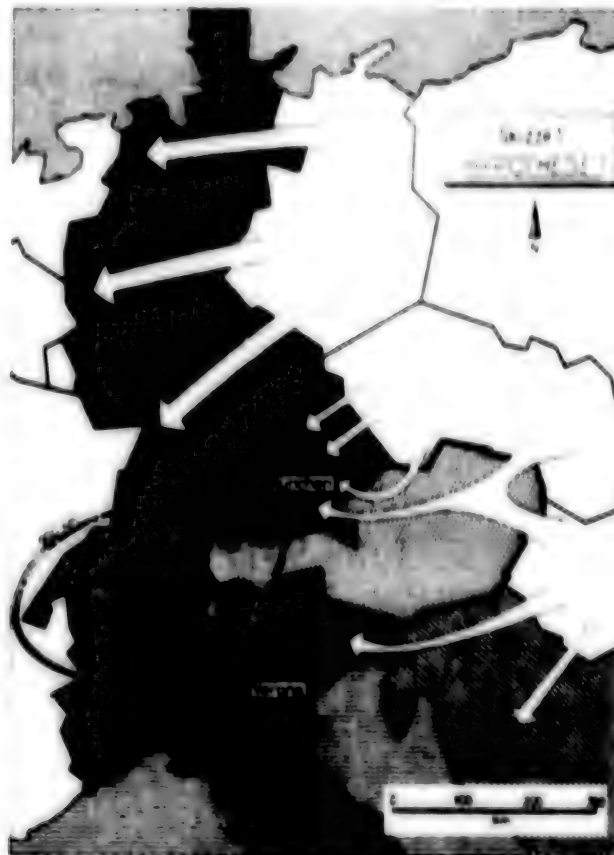


Figure 1. Hypothesis 1.



Figure 2. Hypothesis 2.

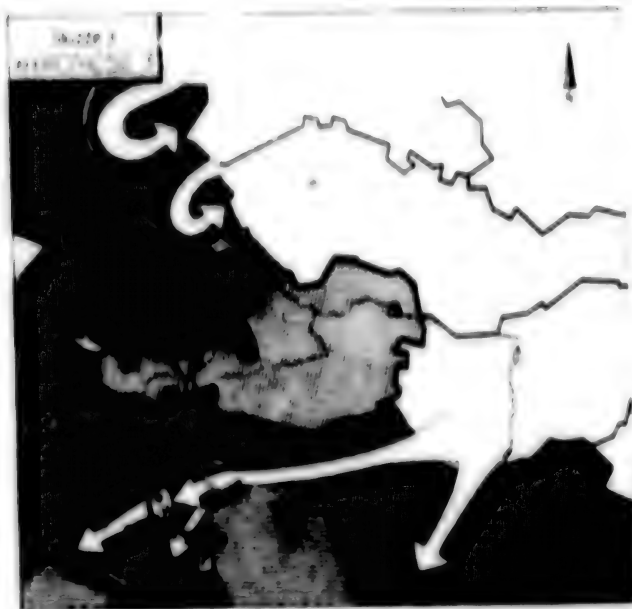


Figure 3. Hypothesis 3.

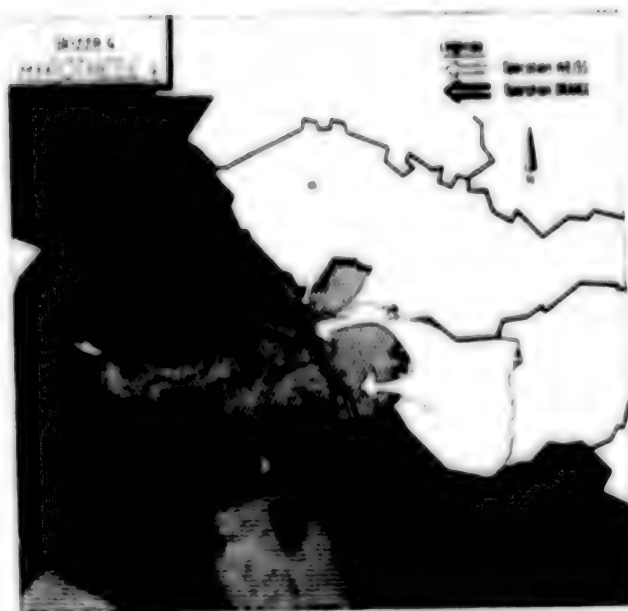


Figure 4. Hypothesis 4.

may decide to make a nuclear breach through Austria, an easy enough undertaking, since he would not be striking at the other pact system directly and would thus not necessarily have to countenance a retaliatory strike. (The reader's indulgence is asked for our departing from the third of the original premises which was that any force applied to Austria, Yugoslavia and Switzerland would be of a conventional nature).

This would bring about a situation that Austria could not deal with on its own.

In his book "The Third World War," the British general Hackett included Austria in his scenario. He believes a mere three divisions would suffice to take over the whole country, from Lake Neusiedel to Innsbruck, in a matter of 3 days without resorting to nuclear arms.

The author hopes that his analysis has succeeded in refuting this rather dismal assertion, from the Austrian point of view. Perhaps he has even succeeded in showing that the intellectual, natural and military potential inherent in this country is sound enough to act as an element of dissuasion.

Austria has no reason to doubt that her neighbors with whom she lives in peace and friendship and that all other powers will respect her neutrality. Austria has a right to expect this but also has an obligation to protect her neutrality by all available means-- for her own good and for the good of the world around her.

9478

CSO: 3103

OeGB CHIEF BENYA'S ROLE IN ANDROSCH AFFAIR ANALYZED

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 17 Sep 80 p 11

[Report by H.M.: "The 'Third Man': Benya"]

[Text] Austria's newspapers are in doubt whatever: Only a united front of Federal Land socialists could have allowed Vice Chancellor and Finance Minister Hannes Androsch to begin a second political career. On the other hand speculation is still rife as to the role of Anton Benya, president of the OeGB [Austrian Trade Union Federation], in the non-resignation of Androsch. Kreisky talked to Benya before talking to Androsch.

According to the old politicians there is one man in Austria without whom nothing can be done. That means the hasty interviews with the "former" finance minister would not have had to be scrapped with equal haste had it not been for this man. At this juncture he practices an art of which he is a master: Anton Benya, first president of the National Council (and therefore formally one of the foremost men in Austria as well as one of the most powerful in his capacity as trade union boss), maintains complete silence.

No more typical reaction could be imagined from this prototype of a unionist who celebrated his 68th birthday on 8 September last. Despite the fact that he is considered one of the few political powers in Austria able to make their will prevail, two other features serve better to characterize this son of a Viennese baker, a metal worker who grew up in the trade union movement: The utmost respect for majorities democratically arrived at and the observance of agreements.

In 1963, when Benya was elected to succeed Franz Olah as president of the Austrian above-party trade union federation (OeGB) and head of its socialist faction, he still considered himself Olah's executor: The guardian of the "social partnership" which, though never institutionalized, had been established by Johann Boehm on behalf of the trade unions and Julius Raab for the employers.

in the meantime he has become one of the pillars of this type of cooperation between labor union and employers, intervening whenever it is necessary to settle almost intractable problems. Not least because he has learned to conserve this "social partnership" (frequently described by critics as an extra-parliamentary ancillary government) even at times when the socialist majority government flirted with puncturing this post-war institution. Such unconditional championship, usually well considered and securely underpinned, of a view once acknowledged to be correct is another feature typical of Benya. He is not afraid to stick to his opinions, even though he may bow to majority resolutions. The latest example is the political discussion which followed the Austrian referendum on nuclear power. While party politicians generally hastened to sweep the issue of energy under the carpet, the supreme unionist was the first to venture that, with all due respect for public opinion, he was still convinced that Austria would not in the long run be able to renounce the use of nuclear power.

Many such examples may be found in Benya's long career. It took years, for example, before a cordial relationship was established between him and Federal Chancellor Kreisky who had initially not been Benya's preferred candidate for the top job in government. It also took 6 years for Benya to shed his early and purely instinctive reservations regarding Hannes Androsch, the youngest finance minister in the history of the republic.

Social democrats of a classical bent learned to appreciate Androsch only when it became clear that the finance minister was not afraid to incur large-scale debts to save jobs at the time of the 1975 recession, and when he subsequently succeeded all the same in bringing down the rate of inflation to the 3 percent mark--albeit for a short time only. Following these events Androsch's courage was honored not only by the trade unions wage restraint (sometimes maintained with great difficulty). Consonant with his interpretation of loyalty toward others and himself Benya was also the one SPD [Social Democratic Party] grandee who, until lately, held his hands protectively over Androsch and, at the end, pleaded that the finance minister should be granted an "orderly departure."

Benya esteems nothing higher than honesty, manual labor and discipline. Though he admits to being a "night person," he arrives in his paneled but plain office at 07.00 hours each morning and, by 09.00 hours has dealt with a load of work which would take others twice as long to do. Then he wanders over to the Parliament building for 2 hours and, after a short mid-day recess, returns to his labors on behalf of the unionists.

Newspapermen insist that Benya has no private life. This mistake is due to the fact that he is able better than any other public figure in this country to separate his private life from his official functions. In any case those close to him report that he is quite capable of discarding all political concerns in the privacy of his home. And despite his high office the trade union boss has basically remained a plain labor union member. This is evident when he talks to the members--usually returning to a slight

dialect--without mining words, using the language he spoke as a staple worker and which is understood by workers. It is also obvious when he says, plainly and without any prevarication, that is neither college educated nor speaks any foreign language. Not least is it evident in the fact that he still lives in a 90 square meter cooperative apartment which would certainly be far too modest for many a well paid union member. Absolute incorruptibility is Anton Benya's most impressive quality and assures him the absolute admiration of the 1.7 million labor union members, all the more because he allows full value to other standards than his personal criteria. At least as long as they do not threaten the trade union movement or the party to which he feels attached.

11698

(S01 310)

CONGRESS TO DISCUSS BRUSSELS' FLEMISH POPULATION

Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Sep 80 p 2

[Article--passages between slantlines originally published in italics]

[Text] /"Building Brussels Together"/: this is the theme of the Congress of the Flemish in Brussels which starts 25 October. A political working group has set forth in a synthesizing report its vision of the future place of the Flemish in the capital city and the ways in which they intend to participate in the administration of the Brussels communes.

It comes out strongly in the report that a very large majority pronounce themselves in favor of structural parity--an equal number of French-speakers and Flemish--in the burgo-master's college, and aldermen in all the communes. A majority is also in favor of a merger of these communes into a "city-region" administered by a parity-structured executive under the protection of the national government. Finally, a debate will be opened up at the congress on the necessity or lack of same of imposing a sub-nationality on citizens of Brussels: Flemish or Walloon (or French-speaking).

Right when negotiations are about to be started on the future status of Brussels, whose institutional existence is presently still "floating," it seemed to us useful to expose the main Flemish demands contained in this still-confidential report.

From the start this report specifies that the congress will propound as a principle that the Flemish of Brussels demand a real right to choose, and will not be content with so-called "guarantees." It will also ask that no financial assistance be given to communes having problems "so long as they have not put an end to the discrimination of which the Flemish of Brussels have been victims."

In the communal councils and the councils of the CPAS (Public Center for Social Assistance), the least numerous linguistic group should have a minimal representation (one-third of the authority for example)--some even demand equality at this level too--and an "alarm-cord" (the possibility of the minority suspending a decision judged contrary to its interests). As for the colleges of the burgo-masters and the aldermen, and in the CPAS offices, that is to say, the communal executives, they should have a parity structure.

Both in the council and in the college the linguistic groups will be separately competent in matters which concern them directly: cultural, personalizable, and single-community, or, roughly, cultural and sporting activities, education, and hospitals. But it will require a double majority, that is, a majority within each linguistic group, to make any decision concerning matters of common concern. This is equivalent to giving each linguistic group, even if it is a minority in the commune, a veto right in communal administration.

However, reservations have been lodged by certain members of the working group. Thus, for example, some are proposing to create a council and a college for each community.

Similarly, the working group wants to see all the communes, and not only Brussels-city, placed under national protection. The central government would have budgetary control and sanctions to put an end to all discrimination.

The group also demands the extension of cultural autonomy at the communal level. One reads: "The working group demands that, by means of annual instructions relative to the drawing up of the budgets, the Brussels communes be required to make equal efforts to supplying the cultural and educational needs of both Flemish and French-speaking citizens. In the event this obligation is not respected, there must be the sanction of disapproving the budget."

Budgetary Sanctions

All these remarks would apply equally to the 19 communes or to the case where the latter are merged into one or several entities. A merger process does not constitute a priority item, as it would change nothing in the situation of the Flemish in Brussels. But the group considers that such a merger would be desirable; by a bare majority it even pronounces itself in favor of fusion into only one entity. It sees Brussels as a city-region with a deliberative assembly in which the Flemish will have guaranteed representation and a linguistically balanced executive [parity]. A double majority would be necessary all localizable matters, that is affecting communes and regional jurisdiction.

This city-region, it is said elsewhere, would be under the guardianship of the national government and of the national Parliament, which could annul the Brussels decisions and systematically oversee the correct implementation by Brussels of its own decisions.

Guardianship or Recourse

Here also reservations have been lodged. Some prefer some sort of recourse to the central government over guardianship. Others want to transform Brussels into a province whose executive would be presided over by the governor. Some, finally, are supporters of a merger into six to ten communes, with the Brussels regional organ placed under national guardianship.

Should every Brussels citizen have to opt for a sub-nationality? The group is divided on the question. For the supporters of sub-nationality, it is a question of extending to Brussels the principle of federalism into two components: Flemish and Walloon. Moreover, it would make it possible to prevent the francification of the immigrant Flemish, who would be immediately inscribed on the registers of the Flemish population. Sub-nationality would be established as dependent on the first domicile after birth, the language utilized, the linguistic role for officials, or again parental origin. Thus sub-nationality would imply the suppression of the "right of the head of the household" to choose a French-speaking or Flemish school.

A Brussels Sub-Nationality

The opponents of sub-nationality make the case that this is incompatible with the indivisible character of an urban agglomeration. They think that bilingualism is the distinctive character of Brussels. They also point out that the principle of sub-nationality will only be acceptable to the French-speakers when coupled with freedom of choice: now this freedom will lead to social pressure on the Flemish to renounce their sub-nationality "because the French-speakers have more to offer at present in Brussels." They fear, ultimately, that the Dutch community of Brussels would be reduced only to die-hard Flemish.

This question reflects two conflicting conceptions of the status of Brussels: for some, there is a Brussels reality, and the Flemish should be a part of it; for the others, the realities of Brussels pale before the existence of the two great national communities.

/It is fitting to emphasize that these demands are emanating from the Flemish of Brussels, that is to say from those who are living every day in the reality of Brussels. Now these demands, posed apparently by the great majority of the members of the working group, represent the most that these Flemish political men ever wanted to get in Brussels: parity in actual administration./

In this sense they can here and now be considered unacceptable to all French-speaking parties and politicians. These latter will not fail to point out, if necessary, that the Flemish are estimated to constitute only 12 to 20 percent of the population of Brussels.

In other words, the points of view seem so opposed that the task of the participants in the future negotiations over the status of Brussels shows itself to be difficult if not impossible.

9516

CSO: 3100

PRL WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH GOVERNMENT

Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by J.v.S.]

[Text] Following the meeting of the PRL [Party of Liberty and Reform] bureau, the president of the party adopted a relatively moderate tone. Jean Gol, the president, dwelt at length on his party's ideas on the subject of the issues presently lying on the government's table: social security for wage-earners, social security for the self-employed, public finances, recovery of economic activity, foreign policy and defense, the steel industry, state reform. All these points, except for the last two, were the object of a concertation with the Flemish liberals of the PVV [Party of Liberty and Progress].

Mr Gol was pleased to stress that on several points there was a convergence of views of the PS and the PRL.

On the question of whether, as Mr Willy De Clercq wants, it is fitting to hold a government-majority summit. Mr Gol answered:

"We are not calling for a summit of the majority, but we are ready to participate in any discussion which would resolve the impasse. If the ministers took responsibility for the questions in their designated areas, the intervention of the presidents of the parties would not be necessary, and I regret that the government is going back on the decisions it made in August. When one looks at it objectively, the governmental declaration spells out in detail everything which was to be done before the end of summer: state reform, budget bill for 1980, preparation of the budget for 1981. But as for everything that should come, this declaration is rather meager in indications. Now the less precise are the texts, the more the exegetists can indulge themselves to their hearts' content."

According to Mr Gol, it is still a matter of urgency to verify to what degree the members of the majority are still of a mind to participate in the government. On the subject of missiles, the PRL president said that he would be satisfied if, on Friday, the government was ready to announce on what date it would make its decision.

BRIEFS

HANDLING OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS CRITICIZED--The Volksunie [VU] bureau considers that "governmental laxity is getting worse every day." For Mr Vic Anxiaux, president of the party, "it is clear that something is wrong with the politicians if the prime minister feels the need to devote a part of a meeting of the general policy committee to ministerial ethics." For Volksunie, our country is plunging deeper every day into crisis, which is causing profound discouragement among the youth: "Flanders, too, is sinking," added Mr Anciaux. Great efforts are being made on the steel question, but, Mr Anxiaux considers, "no solution is in sight. The steel industry remains sick, and only survives thanks to subsidies and orders from the state." Mr Anciaux attacked the position of Societe Generale which "leaves failing enterprises to the community and invests abroad." Mr Anciaux also regretted that "intimidation of the Flemish children and parents of Comines continues without any intervention from the authorities." [Text] [Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Sep 80 p 27] 9516

CSO: 3100

PREPARATIONS CONTINUE FOR INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

Nicosia HALKIN SESI in Turkish 8 Sep 80 p 1

/Text/ Nicosia -- At a meeting yesterday morning headed by TFSC /Turkish Federated State of Cyprus/ President Rauf Denktas, preparations were reviewed for the intercommunal talks to begin on 16 September.

Attending the meeting were Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Dr Kenan Atakol, negotiator Umit Onan and his advisors Necati Munir Fricun and Rustem Tatar.

Rauf Denktas, answering questions by members of the press after the meeting, said that the Turkish side's goal in the talks was to achieve a substantive, firmly-rooted solution by which the Turkish people would not be turned back to the painful days of the past. Denktas said:

"The goal we will pursue in the talks is to achieve a substantive, firmly-rooted solution by which the Turkish Cypriot people can never again be put into painful situations and to bring into being a fearless, democratic regime to ensure that the Turkish Cypriot people, being equal partners in the establishment of the Cyprus Republic, will be able to live securely in their own region.

"The Greek Cypriots have never governed us in our 400-year history and will not govern us in the future. Only a regime based on the equality and partnership of the two communities may be established in Cyprus."

Constitutional Expert Soysal

In answer to a question, President Denktas said that Muntaz Soysal would be on the Turkish delegation as constitutional expert. "There has been no dialog between us and Turkey in regard to replacing Mr Soysal," he said.

Anniversary of Migration to Freedom

Answering a question about the fifth anniversary of the migrations to freedom, President Denktas said the following:

"For years, Turkish Cypriot people were forced to migrate from the island. They were given no guarantee of a humane life in Cyprus, they had no rights and no opportunities. The reasons why the number of Turkish Cypriots who have settled in Turkey without breaking their ties here is larger than the Turkish population on Cyprus has to do with these facts.

"Up to 60,000 Turkish Cypriots have migrated to nations such as Britain, Australia and Canada for the same reasons. They, too, retain their ties with the Turkish people on Cyprus and their interest in Cyprus.

"In 1955-1958, fear for one's life and loss of honor were added to the reasons for migrating. In these years, we were forced to evacuate 33 of our villages. Thousands of Turkish Cypriots lived as refugees for years. Our people who remained behind lived in fear, confronted by the terrorism of the EOKA fighters and the Greek Cypriot police.

"In 1963, we evacuated 103 more of our villages. One-quarter of the Turkish Cypriot people were refugees. The threats and oppression of armed Greek Cypriots lasted for 11 years.

"When the Greek Cypriot massacre of our people began in 1974, 15,000 more Turks fled 30 villages, wishing to escape massacre in the Greek Cypriot attacks. If the Motherland Turkey had not come to help, the massacres would have grown until all of our people left alive would have been forced to leave the island.

"The only factor which foiled the plans of the Greek Cypriots who were applying the Crete Massacre model on our island was the national resistance of the Turkish Cypriot people.

"If the 10,000 Turkish Cypriots who took refuge at the British bases had not acted with this foresight, there would be many mass graves in the south today like Altılar, Sandallar /Sandalaris/ and Murataga /Maratha/. The massacres which took place in the south at Taskent /Tokhni/, Tatlısu /Marı/, Terazi /Zygi/, Gecitkale /Kofinou/, Bogazici /Agios Theodoros/, Otuken /Menolia/ and Alamyio /Alaminos/ are examples which stress the justice of this view."

Meanwhile, TFSC President Rauf Denktas, in a speech given upon his return to Cyprus night before last after attending the "Freedom and Human Dignity in Development Strategy" Conference held in Berlin, said that if the Greek Cypriots came to the intercommunal negotiation table with proposals to return the nation to pre-1974 status, this would be invalid.

Answering various questions by reporters at Ercan state airport, President Rauf Denktas said that the Greek Cypriots knew very well which of the proposals they wanted to bring to the negotiating table were valid and which were not and continued as follows, in summary:

"If they want to make Cyprus a Greek Cypriot island, to take away the security of the Turkish Cypriot community, to establish a Greek Cypriot majority administration under the name of federation or return the country to pre-1974, they will not be doing anything valid. If they do not do this, but come in order to discuss a bisectoral, bizonal federal system as we agreed with Makarios, then the starting points may be anything."

As to the conference he had attended, Denktas said that it was a conference on humanity and world peace and that he would go everywhere he was invited in order to explain the just cause of the Turkish Cypriot people.

Stating that Cyprus had not been on the agenda, Rauf Denktas said that he had discussed the facts of Cyprus with West German Foreign Minister Genscher and the other statesmen with whom he had been in contact and that he hoped that most of the participants in the conference would soon visit Cyprus.

8349

CSO: 4907

MONEY SHORTAGE SHAKING FRAGILE ECONOMY

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 7 Sep 80 p 1

/Text/ Special -- The TFSC /Turkish Federated State of Cyprus/ economy is being tyrannized by the shortage of cash that economists call a "liquidity shortage." It has reached such dimensions that even cashing checks at the bank has become a serious problem. Many public employees who went to the banks at the first of August to cash their salary checks had difficulty in getting the cash equivalents of their checks. This liquidity shortage is even more pronounced at the small cooperative banks. Cooperative members are having to make several trips to their banks to get their checks cashed. There is concern that the shortage of cash will grow even further in the days ahead. Some public employees said, in reference to the situation they encountered at the banks at the first of the month, "If this goes on in the months ahead, we will probably have to wait for days to cash our checks."

Economic Difficulties

Meanwhile, the money shortage at the banks has begun to have a negative effect on our economy, notably in a widescale slump in investments and in the economy. The expected result of this situation would be an unemployment crisis. For this reason, economic circles have begun pressuring the government to take the necessary measures immediately. In particular, EKONOMI newspaper, the weekly publication of the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce, is repeating frequent warnings in this regard, emphasizing the consequences to our nation of the money shortage.

Follow a Realistic Road

The major cause of the liquidity shortage in the TFSC is identified as the raising of interest rates in Turkey and the methods applied to attract savings to the banks. Reportedly, the coffers are being emptied as savings are transferred to banks and the money market in Turkey in order to take advantage of the high interest rates. As is known, the highest interest on savings in the TFSC is 7 percent on time deposits. Especially after interest rates were freed in Turkey by government decree, interest rates rose to

more than 40 percent. In addition, banks and brokers in Turkey are providing various benefits for their customers such as advance interest, monthly interest and certificates of deposit written to bearer. Since the money market in Cyprus lacks all these opportunities and advantages, savings holders are doing everything they can to shift their savings to the profitable climate in Turkey. In seeking solutions to this problem, which is reaching its limit, we hope the government will pay particular attention to the interest phenomenon and take a realistic route to eliminate the difference between interest rates in Turkey and in the TFSC.

8349

CSO: 4907

ATAKOL GIVES INFORMATION ON INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 12 Sep 80 pp 1,4

/Text/ Preparations by the Turkish Cypriot side are progressing for the substantive intercommunal talks which are to begin on Tuesday, 16 September. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Kenan Atakol briefed the party leaders on the subject yesterday. Attending the meeting at the Foreign Ministry were Republican Turkish Party General Chairman Ozker Ozgur, Democratic Peoples' Party /DPP/ General Secretary Ismet Kotak, Populist Party Nicosia National Deputy Alper Orhon, Turkish negotiator Umit Onan, his advisor Necati Munir Ertekin and Foreign Ministry Counselor Ozer Koray. The Communal Liberation Party /CLP/ was not represented at the meeting.

Atakol's Statement

Speaking with members of the press after the meeting, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Kenan Atakol said that he had given information to the opposition leaders on the efforts made to date and had requested their views. Pointing out that the opposition leaders had explained their views to him, Atakol said that the meeting had been very useful in this respect.

Durduran's Statement

Meanwhile, CLP General Chairman Alpay Durduran maintained that the government was trying to use dialog with the parties for show to foreigners and said this was why they had not attended the meeting.

In a written statement yesterday, Durduran claimed that the government had invited the parties to a meeting after everything was settled under the name of giving information to the parties and was critical of a minister's always calling in the party chairmen to the ministry to give them information.

DPP Statement

DPP General Secretary Ismet Kotak, who attended Atakol's meeting, meanwhile described the failure to include the delegation from Turkey, most recently Foreign Ministry Secretary General Ilter Turkmen, and the political parties

represented in the Assembly in the discussions as a negative attitude on the eve of the Cyprus talks and asserted that the DPP Central Executive Board found this attitude distressing.

In evaluating the information given at the meeting, DPP Headquarters made the following announcement:

"1. Peace is possible through the understanding and cooperation of the two sides; neither the Greek Cypriot administration nor the other sides concerned with the Cyprus problem should expect this and a compromising attitude from the Turkish Cypriot side alone.

"2. Agreements are a whole; it is impossible to achieve this piece by piece.

"3. Those who desire peace on Cyprus must accept the existence of two regions and must accept it as natural that close cooperation between the two communities will take time."

8349

CSO: 4907

TFSC BLASTS GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP

Comments by Samsi Kazim

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 20 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Deputy Assembly President Dr Samsi Kazim said that the words of the Greek leaders do not accord with their actions and that because of this the chances for a peaceful solution have diminished. Dr Kazim noted that the Turkish side believed that it was necessary to avoid sterile and unproductive disputes and to substitute a positive undertaking and approach for obstructive words and actions. Dr Kazim went on as follows:

"While stressing once again the necessity of inaugurating intercommunal talks based upon the principle of equality between the two communities aimed at creating a biregional independent and autonomous Federal Republic of Cyprus and continuing them in such a spirit in order to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus question, I wish to state that the speeches of the Greek leader Kirprianu and Archbishop Hrisostomos are of such a nature as to endanger the future of the talks which have been scheduled to begin on 16 September 1980 and to erode the positive initiatives taken by UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and President of the Socialist Republic of Libya Kaddafi to bring about their commencement."

Our Hope

Dr Kazim, who stated that the resolution of the Cyprus question could only come about through negotiations, said at the conclusion of his speech:

"However, if the Greeks imagine that the Turkish Motherland will lift its present guarantee and that they can take back the rights of our citizens who have been brought from the south to the Free Turkish Zone under the Vienna Agreement, and if they persist in their inclination to deny the Cypriot Turkish Community on equal partnership in the administration of a Federal Republic of Cyprus which is to be established, then they shall certainly be responsible for any eventuality which may arise from these attitudes."

"We hope that the Cypriot Greek people and the Greek government will not give any regard to such as Kiprianu and Hrisostomos."

The Gobby-Atakol Talks

In other developments the TFSC Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Kenan Atakol met yesterday morning with the special representative in Cyprus of the UN secretary General, Juan Gobby. It was learned that the initiative for these talks, which also included the special representative's assistant, Gorge, came from Gobby.

Responding to questions from reporters after the discussion Atakol stated that the discussion centered on the preparatory stages for the inauguration of the intercommunal negotiations. To the question, "Do the latest speeches by Hrisostomos and Kiprianu create the impression in the UN that the talks may not begin?" Atakol replied that the speeches had been protested to the Secretary General and the Turkish point of view had been explained to the representatives of the other countries.

On this subject Atakol said: "It is certain that to every reasonable person and country these speeches will be seen to be of no benefit in the effort to bring the two communities together, but on the contrary will be assessed as damaging to this effort."

Comments by Rauf Denktas

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 21 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] Minister of State Rauf R. Denktas, in a statement to the Asya Haber Agency, has declared that Archbishop Hrisostomos intends to establish a fascist dictatorship with himself at the head and that for this reason he is attempting to spread anti-Turkish sentiments among the Greeks. Denktas stated that after AKEL announced that it would launch an effort to come to office by itself in the coming elections Hrisostomos was overcome by panic and launched into a new crusade against the Turks, using the intercommunal talks as a pretext, in an attempt to save his position.

Hrisostomos's Aim

Denktas made his announcement on this subject in the following manner:

"In Cyprus the Greek Orthodox Church and its leaders since 1955 have considered the creation of underground organizations as an act of peity ordained as their duty to God. EOKA, EOKA B, EOKA C, the National Front and similar terrorist organizations were anti-Turkish organizations under Church direction and supported by the Church. All of these are to one extent or another present on the Greek side, and the Church arms and supports each one individually. The principal task of the Church today (as it was in the years between 1955 and 1958) is to organize terrorists against AKEL and the

Turks. AKEL's efforts to come to power in the years ahead have preoccupied the Church. Hrisostomos, using AKEL's drive for power as a pretext, is seeking to unite the fragmented right wing under his own Ethnarchy. Anti-Turkism is playing a unifying role in this course of action.

Terrorism in Turkey

It is known that the Greek Orthodox Church abroad is cooperating with the gangs that are killing Turkish diplomats. Greeks and Americans of Greek origin in the USA are collecting money through Greek Orthodox Church channels to obtain weapons for terrorists in Turkey. The Greek Orthodox Church ranks foremost among our enemies who are engaged in the struggle to destroy Turkey.

9353

CSO: 4907

TFSC WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH 'CYPRUS GOVERNMENT'

Nicosia HALKIN SESI in Turkish 12 Sep 80 pp 1,7

/Text/ Nicosia (TURKISH AGENCY CYPRUS) -- TFSC /Turkish Federated State of Cyprus/ President Rauf Denktas, calling yesterday afternoon at the office of the UN secretary general's representative on Cyprus Gobbi and his assistant Gorge, drew their attention to the fact that Kyprianou's latest cabinet is contrary to the Constitution of the 1960 Cyprus Republic.

President Denktas said, in a statement made following the meeting lasting almost an hour with the UN officers, that the Turkish community had been telling the United Nations and all organizations for years that the Greek Cypriot administration is not a government representing all of Cyprus and that it had discarded the 1960 Constitution after 1963 and began oppressing the Turks. He said:

"Calling on Mr Gobbi and Mr Gorge today, I felt the need to draw their attention to this matter once again, because the person who governs the Greek Cypriot side has appointed a new cabinet. I brought to their attention the fact that this cabinet is not a constitutional cabinet even in southern Cyprus. The more Kyprianou feels the need for a government based on the 1960 Constitution, which they repudiated 11 years ago and said it was "dead and buried," the more he talks about it. This lie, this unsubstantiated claim is accepted in the world because the world does not know the facts. Kyprianou is trying to cover up for the Turkish rights which were usurped in the 1963-1974 period by an administration totally outside the 1960 Constitution and, in doing this, is also trying to destroy the rights of the Turkish Cypriots within the Cyprus government image. According to the 1960 Constitution, the cabinet can have only 10 ministers and 3 of them are to be appointed by accord by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot authorities. This situation was long ago done away with. No Turk is or will ever be in Kyprianou's cabinet."

Noting that Kyprianou's present cabinet has 11 members and that no approval of any Turkish authority was or could be obtained in light of the facts, Denktas continued as follows:

"This situation is sufficient to emphasize that the administration which Kyprianou heads is not and cannot be the government of all Cyprus. Such a government cannot speak for all of Cyprus. It cannot represent all of Cyprus in the next UN session and it especially cannot say a single word about the Turkish Cypriots. We will soon be meeting to resolve the Cyprus problem with this body which has wrongfully taken the word "government" and is conducting full-scale attacks against the Turkish Cypriots. It is well to assert that we will not accept any entity in this meeting which calls itself the "Cyprus government." We do not accept such a thing. The negotiator for the Greek Cypriot community and the negotiator for the Turkish Cypriot community will discuss a communal problem. We do not accept anything beyond this. We will inform the United Nations again of these things. We thought it appropriate to inform Mr Gobbi of our thoughts before doing so."

In answer to a question, President Denktas said that until a joint federal republic was established on Cyprus, incidents in the south concerned only the south.

8349
CSO: 4907

DENKTAS STATES TURKEY WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT TFSC

Nicosia HALKIN SESI in Turkish 18 Sep 80 pp 1,2

/Text/ Nicosia (INFORMATION AGENCY) -- TFSC /Turkish Federated State of Cyprus/ President Rauf R. Denktas gave the following answer to a reporter who asked his views after saying that Turkish Head of State, Chief of Staff and National Security Council Chairman General Kenan Evren had confused the Greek Cypriot side when he said, "Cyprus is an inseparable part of Turkey" and that Greece reportedly would request an explanation of this from Turkey:

"Cyprus has a very important spiritual and material place in the Turkish world.

"Turkey cannot abandon Cyprus to Greece. This is where the problem starts.

"The Turkish Community which for years has been a solid, inseparable part of the Turkish Nation on Cyprus, has been oppressed, murdered, deprived of human rights and subjected to every sort of inhumane treatment to destroy it. For years, Anatolia has wept and been made to weep over "Cyprus."

"There is no doubt but that all of these are things which increase the value and importance of Cyprus to Turkey.

"General Evren was expressing an historical fact. And he went on to say that "the establishment of a bizonal federal republic between the two communities on Cyprus is what Turkey envisions." Just as the same Turkey envisioned the establishment of a republic in partnership between the two communities on Cyprus in 1959 and guaranteed this, and by protecting the Republic and its independence, finally sacrificing its sons in order that this Republic not be strangled or killed on the "gallow of Enosis," proved that it favors Cyprus' remaining forever an independent nation based on two National Communities.

"We consider it normal for the strident Greek Cypriot press to raise an outcry over these facts. They look for and find material for propaganda in every subject. However, I would not like to think that Greece would request explanations from Turkey over such a matter, claiming that thus and such was said. In any case, if it were to do so, it would get its answer."

TURKISH CABINET CHANGES NOT TO AFFECT CYPRUS

Nicosia HALKIN SESI in Turkish 7 Sep 80 p 1

/Text/ Nicosia (TURKISH AGENCY CYPRUS) -- Secretary General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry Ilter Turkmen arrived in the TFSC /Turkish Federated State of Cyprus/ yesterday afternoon, accompanied by Cyprus Office Chief Turgay Ulucevik and Special Advisor Daryal Batibey.

Ilter Turkmen made a statement to reporters and answered their questions upon arrival on the island. He said that during his stay in the TFSC, he would be holding consultations on the upcoming intercommunal talks and the TFSC's economic problems.

Asked in this context about the interpellation and fall of the Turkish foreign minister, Ilter Turkmen asserted that Turkey's Cyprus policy was not one that changed with changes in the administration. He said:

"This is not my first trip to Cyprus. I have been directly concerned with the Cyprus problem at various stages throughout my professional life. But, as you know, I have just been appointed as secretary general. I am very happy to have as my first assignment after appointment to this position the opportunity to visit Cyprus, to talk with Mr Denktas, to meet and talk with members of the TFSC government and Foreign Ministry and to exchange views with them. We will exchange views on a variety of problems while I am here. This is, essentially, a courtesy visit, but the intercommunal talks are coming up. Perhaps the United Nations will have a new angle on the problem. It is very useful to me to have the opportunity to sit down and talk about all these things. I am, of course, also glad to have the opportunity to attack the economic problems of the Turkish community, which today is living in peace and security, and to learn what other things there may be that we can do."

The following discussion took place between Turkmen and reporters:

Question: It is being said in _____ as that your visit has to do with the intercommunal talks in particular, as it comes on the eve of the talks.

Answer: Let me say immediately that although the intercommunal talks are coming up, I will come again at that time. As soon as I became secretary general, I made up my mind to come to Cyprus, and the government immediately approved this. Therefore, this visit cannot be said to be in relation to the intercommunal talks. But since the talks will be held soon, I will take the opportunity to obtain information on the TFSC's approach to the talks on this occasion also.

Question: The National Assembly in Turkey brought down the foreign minister by interpellation. Therefore, the Turkish government's foreign policy was given a vote of no-confidence. One wonders what changes this development will bring in Turkey's Cyprus policy.

Answer: You will have kept up with the discussions in the Assembly. There was no question on Cyprus, nor any criticism. The criticisms of the foreign minister had to do with other problems. Turkey's Cyprus policy, as you know, is not a policy that changes when a different party comes to power. It is not such that it should be affected by a change of ministers.

Question: Will you take up the question of changing the constitutional consultant on this visit?

Answer: I have no information about the constitutional consultant's being replaced. The TFSC is the one conducting the negotiations. I am sure they will keep whatever consultant they want.

Question: Will officials of the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministries take up the Cyprus problem?

Answer: If the Cyprus problem is taken up by the two foreign ministers, it will be as an exchange of views. The negotiations are between the two communities. All Turkey and Greece can do is support them. Aside from this, directly resolving the problem is up to them.

Visits

Turkmen and the delegation accompanying him were met by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Dr Kenan Atakol, Turkey's Nicosia Ambassador Inal Batu, Turkish Cypriot Peace Forces Commander Lt Gen Dogan Kromors, Presidential Counselor Taner Etkin, Turkish representative to the intercommunal talks Umit Onan and other dignitaries.

After arriving in Nicosia, Turkmen and his delegation placed a wreath at the Ataturk Memorial at 1600 and Ilter Turkmen was later received by Vice-President Oguz R. Korhan, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly Dr Semsî Kazim, Prime Minister Mustafa Cagatay and Turkish Cypriot Peace Forces Commander Lt Gen Dogan Kromors.

GREEK CYPRIOTS WANT MARAS BACK

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 Sep 80 p 3

/Article by Akay Cemal/

/Text/ Nicosia -- In the resumed intercommunal talks to find a peaceful solution in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot side has demanded that all of Maras /Varosia/ be returned to the Greek Cypriots.

As had been decided earlier, the Greek Cypriot side presented its proposals on the Maras problem to the Turkish side at the first meeting which began day before yesterday of the substantive talks.

In their four-page proposals, the Greek Cypriots demanded the return of the entire area excluding the walled portion of Famagusta where Turks have traditionally lived and demanded that reconstruction activities begin at once in Maras under UN control.

The Greek Cypriot proposals, which are almost the same as those presented on 22 June 1979, also call for turning over the agricultural land outside the residential center to the Greek Cypriots and stress the inevitability of Maras' ties to the Greek Cypriot sector.

The Greek Cypriot side presented the same proposals in the intercommunal talks held last year which stalled after the third meeting. The proposals were rejected by the Turkish side by reason of their not being on the agenda.

According to information obtained, the Greek Cypriot proposals on Maras say, "in view of the fact that Greek Cypriots will settle here, it is necessary that administrative services be established and that Greek Cypriot citizens be allowed free passage," and in reference to determining the extent of damage and loss as soon as possible, point out that the hotels are falling into further disrepair every day and say that Turkish workers will be hired when work on the hotels begins.

Although the Greek Cypriot proposals do not mention how large a Greek Cypriot population would settle in this city, one recalls that about 85,000 people lived here before.

TURK-SEN WANTS PRO-MOTHERLAND ATTITUDE

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 16 Sep 80 pp 1,4

/Text/ Nicosia (TURKISH AGENCY CYPRUS) -- TURK-SEN /Turkish Cypriot Federation of Labor Unions/ President and General and Financial Secretary Lutfi Ozer has warned Turkish workers in a circular sent to all member unions against developments occurring or which may occur following the Turkish Armed Forces' takeover in Turkey.

The circular points out that the Turkish Armed Forces' takeover will have foreign and domestic reverberations and says:

"The Turkish Armed Forces are committed to the Ataturkist principles, are filled with love of country and nation and have a superior understanding of democracy. Whatever the reverberations may be, the Turkish Cypriot worker, who has always been devoted to the Motherland and its Armed Forces and is an inseparable part of it, must conduct himself so as to be helpful to the Motherland in the face of this historic development."

The TURK-SEN Executive Board also informed its members of the following matters:

"For the purpose of preserving labor peace, our unions concerned must apply in writing to the Labor and Social Security Ministry in order that any sort of labor disagreement may be resolved quickly. TURK-SEN will request from the ministry that a mechanism be established for the quick resolution of such matters.

"Our union administrators must show the necessary sensitivity toward not allowing our members to be caught up in suggestions or incitements to participate in demonstrations, marches or any other actions.

"In view of these matters with which we consider the compliance of our organization absolutely essential for the promotion of our national interests, we would like to believe that employers and government will show an equal understanding and effort to protect labor peace."

COMMUNIST PARTY'S REACTION TO EVENTS IN POLAND

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Sep 80 p 12

[Article by Ernst-Otto Maetzke: "Poland Has Only a Cold"]

[Text] It has taken some time for the communists in the FRG who are loyal to Moscow to formulate their point of view about events in Poland, which are so unwelcome to them. A few days ago it happened at a DKP executive committee meeting. Since then different arguments have been advanced on two different levels. On the first level a simple drive for exoneration is being mounted, which, in the interim, has been propounded at DKP election campaign meetings. It casts suspicion on the sympathy and understanding among the public in the FRG for the Polish strikes.

The party shows scorn or outrage that in this country the striking workers in Poland aroused enthusiasm among supposedly the same people who always trampled on German workers' rights. Party chairman Mies reduces this argument to a formula: "All those people who are now making themselves spokesmen for the fulfillment of the social demands of the Polish workers and for union rights will no longer be allowed to evade the question: what is your attitude to the demands of working people in your own country?" This argument can be expanded and paraphrased without having to make any reference to events in Poland. Mies's speech to the party committee has been published in the party newspaper.

The paper did not publish the more important decision concerning the language of the argument on the second level; it can be found in a special DKP committee publication under the title: "Poland and Ourselves--Questions, Arguments, Points of View." At the party committee meeting it was formulated by Willi Gerns who, as a member of the presidium and the secretariat, occupies the position of head ideologist. In his contribution to the discussion Gerns reveals which detail of the events in Poland affected the other communist parties--governing and nongoverning-- most deeply: the solemn promise of leading party and union functionaries that in the future the unions are to have a voting right in economic plans and, in addition, the authority to examine all questions which affect the economic and social position of Polish workers and employees.

It is clear from this publicly given agreement, even Gerns can see it, that the Polish unions have not enjoyed these rights before--after more than three decades of development in the People's Republic of Poland under the leadership of its communist party. He is now shocked "that problems in the Polish unions can be used to shake confidence in our statements about the union in the GDR, in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as in our ideas about unions' rights in a socialist FRG." The worst thing for Gerns is the low level of credibility of his own DKP party program. It says that the unions would play a decisive role in the economy and society of a socialist FRG. "This statement could now be cast in doubt by union colleagues, once information about the previous work of the Polish unions is made known which does not correspond to this image. What are we supposed to say to that?" The embarrassment is more acute even than the split of the Polish unions into the previously state run one and--as Gerns puts it--"an organization dependent on the Catholics clergy and anti-socialist advisors."

He takes comparatively less seriously the fact that the Polish party would, to a large degree, lose its indispensable "transmission belt"; he does not want this, as he says, "frequently distorted image" to be understood in the sense of giving orders: the "transmission belt" means only the close association of the masses with the party. As soon as this link proves inadequate, defects in ideological work were to be blamed which could be remedied. Gerns attributes the failure of the decades-long work of persuasion in Poland to four factors. The first is the deep roots in the masses of Polish Catholicism, the second is Polish nationalism "among the negative aspects of which is an anti-Russian trait that is connected with Czarist Russia's role of oppressor towards Poland and that opponents of socialism can turn against the Soviets," the third is the influence of 20 million Poles abroad on the Polish population and the fourth is the "uncut umbilical cord" linking the majority of Polish workers to a tradition of private farming. This enumeration and listing is the most intelligent part of the analysis.

The DKP also addresses itself to the triggering of the Polish strike by an acute shortage of commodities. The "increasing disparity between buying power and meeting the demand for goods" is explained by economic crises in the capitalist countries. Poland had assumed high credits in the West in the expectation of repaying them through the export of products from plants constructed with the aid of this credit. This was not working any longer. The cursory diagnosis of the West German communists states that socialist Poland had "caught a cold" from the "economic flu" of the capitalist countries. In full it reads like this: "As a consequence of the cyclical decline in production and the only mild growth that followed in the capitalist countries, they increasingly barred Polish goods. In addition there were massive price increases on the world market for urgently needed raw materials and rises in the interest rate for credit already granted. In order to be able to put a stop to the enormous debt in the capitalist countries, currently about \$20 million, and to

make the payments coming due, those products which could still be sold on capitalist markets, principally consumer goods, had to be exported--in part at extraordinarily low prices. These goods were withdrawn from the home market and necessarily intensified the disparity between buying power and the commodities available."

It seems not to have occurred to the DKP ideologist that this interpretation must necessarily lead to the question whether a similar situation exists or is coming in other socialist countries. He is constantly concerned only with the proof that the Polish explosion was not the result of any inner law of socialism; he totally rejects the Western view that "Karl Marx is being refuted in Poland." To draw the conclusion from the economic hardship in Poland that the socialist planned economy is done for is, for Gerns, the same as if one concluded from the failures of a physician who ignored the findings of medical science "that medicine was bankrupt." However, it is not just a single physician, but all the "physicians" together who are writing the same economic prescription for the socialist countries.

9581

CSO: 3103

SPLIT, RIVALRY IN MAOIST KBW DESCRIBED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Sep 80 pp 129-134

[Article: "Increased Exploitation"]

[Text] A split has occurred in the Communist League of West Germany, the militant group of the dogmatic Left. The remainder is quarreling about the ideological heritage and approximately DM 10 million.

The television viewer did not know what things are really like in the FRG until Monday last week after the daily report.

The "working class" and the "masses" in the FRG do "not" want "any foreign troops in either German state," they want to see "nuclear weapons outlawed and destroyed," and the "inner peace" that election campaigners are constantly talking about does not exist at all. "Sweatshops," "capitalist rationalization," "piecework, night and shiftwork" are "increasingly exploiting" the worker.

The report on the state of the nation, which lasted for two and one-half minutes, was an election spot ad by the Communist League of West Germany (KBW), put together and read by Hans-Gerhart ("Joscha") Schmierer, 38, secretary of the central committee, on 147 Mainzer Landstrasse in Frankfurt.

The secretary himself views with skepticism the prospects that his call "Vote revolutionary! Vote KBW!" will be followed by more than 20,018 FRG citizens on 5 October, as was the case during the last Bundestag election in 1976 (0.1 percent): "We have neglected the political struggle within the labor movement too much."

Not only that. In the middle of the election campaign, during which the moderate China-oriented splinter party put 155 direct candidates on ballots in 10 Laender, the KBW split. Seven years after the KBW was founded, the leading ideologists broke up while quarreling over the best way in which the "fall of the monopoly-bourgeoisie" was to be accomplished.

At issue is the political line pursued by the strongest West German communist formation, a militant and rigidly led political sect, with the goal of smashing the "bourgeois state apparatus." During the struggle for the establishment of a classless communist society, KBW comrades do not want to do without force.

According to Martin Fochler, 34, a trained chemical lab technician, spokesman for one of the groups and finally deputy secretary of the central committee, the revolution in the FRG was about to happen. But what concerned him was that the masses could not be convinced.

Joscha Schmierer, another leader and an activist from the time of the extra-parliamentary opposition, at times wondered why German workers did not choose the KBW unanimously, although--so he assumed--"they certainly do not appreciate the policy of exploitation of the Federal Government." Although he did "not" interpret the election results "as a device measuring the political maturity of the masses," Schmierer had realized in the meantime that the "policy of a labor-unity front" must be extended "to include the right wing of the Social Democratic Party."

The Fochler group within the central committee did not agree with Schmierer's self-critical analysis, according to which the dwindling membership (from 2,500 to 1,800) and the shrinking circulation of the central organ KOMMUNISTISCHE VOLKSZEITUNG (from formerly 32,000 to 11,000 copies) may possibly be attributed to the fact that KBW ideologists "went too far" and "overheated the situation ideologically and politically." There was to be no deviation from the course of the organization led by the cadre, and during the Bundestag election campaign "the war preparations of the West German bourgeoisie" must be met head-on.

Fochler and his supporters left before a scandal could erupt during the fifth regular conference of delegates on 20 September. Schmierer estimates that approximately 400 KBW members will follow him. A new "League of West German Communists" was founded the weekend before last in Mannheim to compete with the KBW. Frankfurt's TAGESZEITUNG, a paper representing the undogmatic Left, stated mockingly, "The working class lost one of its glorious avantgarde organizations."

The dispute over the direction of the KBW reveals ideological problems that have in the meantime become apparent in all West German communist groups and revolutionary miniparties. Since Mao's death and since the Republic of China has been courting American presidents, organized Maoists--who number barely 7,000 people--have been having a difficult time finding a common denominator for their own theory and Chinese practice. It is not exactly to their liking when Hua Kuofeng, the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, makes preparations for business deals with the very same Bonn government which the Maoists would very much like to change by force of arms.

And it was difficult for Maoist groups to explain to their own supporters that nuclear power plants were necessary for China but, please, atomic installations in the FRG must be opposed. The appearance of the "Greens" and alternative parties whose arguments are politically more judicious have weakened the communist groups even more.

Ideological pressures led to resignation for other Marxist-Leninist cadres as well. In Hamburg the Communist League (KB) split at the end of 1979, in March the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), one of the most violent communist groups, announced its dissolution. the KPD central organ ROTE FAHNE admitted, "Our claim of building the party for the working class has failed."

The KBW has not yet reached that point. Under Schmierer's leadership, the political sect became not only the communist group with the largest membership but also the richest in the republic. All leading KBW communists are also partners in the Kuehl KG [limited partnership] Publishing Company (assets: DM 505,000) which turns over several million marks annually and to date produced a profit of "approximately DM 10 million." (Schmierer)

In addition to the KBW central building in Frankfurt (estimated purchase price: DM 3.2 million), the Kuehl KG holdings include real estate in Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg. KBW firms own printing companies, telecommunication technology facilities and a comprehensive automobile arsenal--everything paid in cash. Said Schmierer: "We produce economically. We do not have any assets that are in conflict with the tasks."

The managing secretary explains the financial situation this way: The 400 "cells" that exist in the FRG "formulate the needs of the organization" and determine the amount of earnings which may be retained by individual KBW functionaries out of their own income. Schmierer's own salary, DM 1,000 net per month, is used as a "guideline."

In addition to generous monthly contributions, averaging more than DM 100, the Frankfurt central office also manages building and loan savings accounts, bank assets, life insurance policies, inheritances and real estate belonging to the members, who are transferring their entire personal wealth to the party to tear down "all the bridges to the bourgeoisie."

Protectors of the Constitution also attribute the "crack at the base" and the dwindling KBW membership that goes along with it to the "enormously high financial contributions which they demand from their people." A high-ranking Hessian national security official stated: "Even idealists can only stick with it for a limited amount of time. Anyway, at one time or another one has to have something for one's family."

Focher's supporters at the Hamburg central office have already indicated how the difference in assets between Schmierer's group--which is now in

possession of the money--and the renegades is to be equalized. Being the class which has nothing and according to the teachings of their patriarch Marx, the first thing they did was to take over production facilities. Parts of photoset machines were removed.

The partially disowned Schmierer stated: "We are weakened but not paralyzed."

8991

CSO: 3103

PRESS VIEWS RUPTURE BETWEEN CGT, CFDT

Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Sep 80 p 43

[Press review: "The Alarm Signal of Unity"]

[Text] Nothing is satisfactory between the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] and the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor]. The opening speeches by Georges Seguy and Edmond Maire seem to be sounding the alarm bell of the "unity of action."

To Philippe Warnier, writing in HERDO - T.C. - TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN, "The break between the two organizations is deep and could shortly become irrevocable." He explains that, "This is the conclusion of a long process of degradation which started before the legislative elections (...) and which has been accelerating for the past year. Unquestionably, its determining cause is the pressure exerted by the communists on the CGT and the union (rather than the "alinement" of the strategies of the PCF [French Communist Party] and the CGT. However, the leaders are divided between the two big unions. The burden of the political context of the cold war within the left is doubled by a basic difference on the analysis of the crisis and trade union strategy. This is a difference which occasionally, cuts across each one of the two organizations."

In LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, Thierry Pfister states (based on an investigation conducted by Claude-Francois Julien): "Each union will once again stand on its positions, even though the CGT and the CFDT intend to continue to claim their desire for unity. What makes this situation even more serious is that the trade unionists are realizing the extent to which the crisis is exacerbating corporativism and strengthening individual egotisms. This was properly demonstrated by the teamsters who blocked the access roads to Boulogne where some Breton farmers had gone to war against the blocking of the ports by the fishermen. Interprofessional mobilizations, therefore, seem problematical. More than ever before any trade union action will depend on the ability of the militants to take the initiative, enterprise by enterprise and section by section."

In an article entitled "The Narrow Gate," Henri Gibier notes in LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE that, "Operation Truth" of the CFDT "implied that it may be

possible to practice union reformism without necessarily practicing "Bergeronism." He asks that "currently this is not so sure. First, because the loud break between the two old enemy brothers confirms, a posteriori, the warnings of the leader of FO [Workers Force] concerning the CGT. It is precisely by virtue of the survival of the 1974 agreement between the CGT and the CFDT that in December 1979 Bergeron had rejected Maitre's offers. Today, therefore, the question may be asked once again. People close to Maitre are already acknowledging that "the myth of unity with the CGT has made us neglect the possibilities for a rapprochement with FO. On the other hand, the electoral campaign does not allow any place for a third union movement such as that of "recentering."

Edmond Maitre's Dilemma

In LE POINT, Dominique Audibert sums up "the dilemma of Edmond Maitre" as follows: "To resist the siren songs from the right without conceding anything to the higher bids of the communist party and the CGT. He knows that he is walking on a tightrope. However, he will follow this way to the end, convinced that the line held by the CGT is suicidal and that, eventually, he will be the beneficiary. In fact, in 1978 and 1979 the CGT experienced a drop of almost 25 percent in its fees. This would mean the loss of 500,000 members. Yet, they were not recruited by Edmond Maitre for the CFDT. What a strange twist of history! In November 1976, in the midst of the unity euphoria in a short statement on the number of nationalizations, Georges Seguy had inaugurated the crisis between the communist and the socialist party, without anyone noticing it. Today, in the frozen cemetery of the union of the left, he has thrown the last shovel of earth on a corpse which, henceforth, no one hopes to resurrect."

In ASPECTS DE LA FRANCE (royalist), Pierre Pujol claims that, "In the autumn there will not be any days dedicated to the joint claims of the CGT and the CFDT. The former, however, will try to lead the latter into specific hard activities. We know that the CGT intends to intensify social conflicts to a maximum degree. The CFDT will fear being outstripped by the events and will follow. The discord between the two union movements does not, therefore, promise us any social calm. Furthermore, the CFDT, like FO, in fact, does not intend in the least to help the government and the owners in facing the current difficulties. They remain focused on the class struggle. Far from taking into consideration the general interest in their respective claims, these union movements intend to benefit from the electoral period to extract advantages whose illusory nature they ignore."

Also mentioning the presidential elections, Michel Jacques writes in L'EXPRESS that, "More than ever before it is a question of presenting the CGT as the only organization which is truly defending the salaried workers today contrary to the CFDT which has been accused of opposing progress. Above all, it is a question of maintaining or even increasing the pressure before the presidential elections in order to obtain results and win for the communist candidate the vote of the discontented."

Alain Guotteray, who draws a parallel between the Polish "tragedy" and the French "psychodrama" notes in LE FIGARO MAGAZINE that Maitre could not ignore "in the good old times of unity of action" all the grievances nurtured by the CFDT against the CGT. He adds that, "Once again, however, tomorrow, on the first possible occasion, he will forget them in order to resume his interrupted dream. One remains confused by the apparent naivete of the ones and the presumptuousness of the others."

In the eyes of Pierre Burnand, writing in L'HUMANITE ROUGE, organ of the communist Marxist-Leninist Party (Maoist), "In the face of the attacks by the employers and the authorities, unity of action against them is a priority." He goes on to say that, "Those who, for reasons other than the ones related to the struggle against the system and the employers, would oppose unity of action would assume a severe responsibility and prove, thus, that they are not guided by defending the interests of the workers. Many are those in the CGT as in the CFDT who really support this struggle."

In ROUGE, the weekly of the Revolutionary Communist League (Trotskyite), Pierre Reme expresses an essentially similar view by stating that, the possibility to defeat Giscard-Barre is clear. That is why, while demanding from the national leaderships to put an end to their criminally divisive policies, the trade union sections, the trade unions, the local unions, and so on, must, therefore, increase their joint initiatives. The only way to defeat the calculations of the system which hopes to promote its policy by maintaining the division is to translate the desire for struggle and unity into the practice of the struggles, and the preparation for a joint struggle through interunion relations at all levels. The answer, today more topical than ever, lies in unity in the struggle, unity for putting Giscard-Barre out."

LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE, the weekly of the Anarchist Federation, states that, "Seguy's outrage, like Maitre's redundancies, are part of the classical game played at this time of the year. The truth lies elsewhere! Whether a flask is considered half full or half empty will depend on the judgment of the crowds. Half full means patience, the expectation of better days, nurtured by the violins played by petty politicians; half empty means anger in which classical music is replaced by a revolutionary song. Coming back from vacation one cannot seize the Bastille by appointment, starting with learned discussions concerning the sex of angels. It is anger that turns the pages of history, the unpredictable anger, the rich anger which remains mankind's great celebration."

5157

CSO: 3100

INTERVIEW WITH PONS: PARTY UNITY, FUTURE OF RPR, GAULLISM

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Sep 80 pp 1, 9

[Article by Andre Passeron "Interview with Bernard Pons: Gaullism is very much alive"]

[Excerpts] Mr Bernard Pons, secretary general of the RPR [Rally for the Republic Party], takes care, in the interview he gave us, not to second-guess the decision Mr Chirac could take. He reaffirms, however, that the Gaullist movement will be united in the presidential election. He announces that in the next legislative elections--whenever that may be--the RPR will run a candidate in every constituency, even if there are other candidates from the present majority.

[Question] On what do you base your statement: "The Gaullists will be united once again," when one can already see divergence in the ranks?

[Answer] I imagine that by speaking of divergence you do not have in mind the plurality of opinions that are manifested in our ranks on specific issues. That is nothing, really, but the reflection of the diversity proper to a large democratic political formation such as the Rally for the Republic. It constitutes its richness and its power.

So I deduce that you are alluding to the presidential election. I only have one thing to say on this subject, but it is important: for us, the choosing of candidates for the presidential election, which is incontestably the high point of our political life, should not be an affair for parties. It is a personal thing. This does not mean that the RPR is not interested in the presidential election. When all the candidates have declared, the normal procedures of our movement will result, after a democratic debate, in the designation of the one who seems most apt to defend the colors of Gaullism and bring them to victory. We will mobilize all our forces in his behalf, because we all now know that only a Gaullist can put into action our concept of France. In this regard, I don't know that one can properly speak today of divergence. I am responsible for heading

the Gaullist movement which, unlike most of the political formations of the present and previous republics, has never had a split, never known schism. Some have abandoned it, usually only to return.

And everyone was together when the chips were down. I am convinced that it will continue to be this way in the future, especially in decisive struggles. So far as I am concerned, I will employ all my strength to that end.

The Era of Lassitude and Despair

[Question] Does the record of Mr Giscard d'Estaing over the last 7 years seem overall as deplorable to you as it does to Mr Debre, or do you see some positive aspects?

[Answer] Remember: the present 7-year term began with this statement by the president of the republic: /"From this day a new era begins."/ Who could say today that 1974 marked the starting point of a happy and auspicious era for France and the French? Problems have only gotten worse: inflation, unemployment, external deficit. We know very well that the crisis has global causes, but we are obliged to point out that the government has not mastered either the economic problems or the insidious crisis in society. The facade of liberalism only camouflages laxity and defeatism. The uncertainties in our foreign policy have hardly contributed to strengthening the place of France in the world, and in high places there seems, moreover, to be a resignation to its [ultimate] effacement. The "new era" in which we are living today is for most Frenchmen an era of lassitude and despair.

[Question] What then will be your position with respect to Mr Giscard d'Estaing, especially in the second round?

[Answer] Your question presumes that the candidates are known, and especially that Mr Giscard d'Estaing will be one of them. This is not the case at present.

I can only assure you that the RPR will be committed in the presidential campaign, with the same faithfulness and conviction that have always inspired the Gaullists. And our aim will be to bring to the highest office in the land the candidate we have chosen and in whom we will have placed our hope.

[Question] After Mr Giscard d'Estaing, Crepeau, Mitterrand, and Rocard are launching appeals to the Gaullists. Does this enterprise of seduction not run the risk of ending up in the dispersion of the Gaullists, if they are not represented by one candidate who brings them together?

[Answer] Everyone has perfect freedom to "hunt for votes" wherever they may be found. The attempt at seduction is a part of the game, but those who allow themselves to be led astray will find only bitterness and disappointment. As far as we are concerned, we will on the contrary be vigilant to insure that this fundamental debate unfolds in the light.

I will add that the risk you describe does not seem to me to be very serious: it would be quite astonishing, in fact, if those who have faith in us and share our concerns and objectives should let themselves easily be diverted into paths which are obviously not those they have followed up to now.

I would observe, finally, that the efforts at seduction--individual or collective--are addressed, in principle, to people who stir up a certain amount of interest. I note with satisfaction the interest we excite all over the political spectrum.

Candidates in Every Constituency

[Question] How do you see the future of Gaullism and the RPR's pursuit of its role beyond the presidential election?

[Answer] Gaullism is a state of mind, a sensitivity, a certain conception of the state, of the nation, of man. It is, as has so often been said, a certain idea of France. Gaullism existed well before De Gaulle, who, however, incarnated it during a period of our national history. Naturally it survived him. The fact that De Gaulle is cited today in all political quarters, even among those that most fiercely opposed him, proves to what a degree Gaullism is alive and well. Its destiny is that of France. As for the RPR, which is a great popular movement, its horizons are obviously not limited to the presidential election. Before, as well as after, 1981, the RPR will continue to deepen its thought, advance its proposals. It will continue to militate, to urge the French to strive, to overcome their divisions, to unite in every greater numbers behind a real policy of national interest. The legislative elections, whether they come prematurely or on schedule, will give it the chance, as in 1978, to test its strength and vitality: have no doubt about that. I will mention in that regard that our movement is already making the most careful preparations for this event, which is, moreover, even more than the presidential election, the natural field of action for political parties. The RPR will have a candidate in every constituency. This decision was taken right after the legislative elections of 1978. We are in the process of putting it into practice and I can assure you that there will be no exceptions.

[Question] Even in the 4th district of Rhone?

[Answer] You are asking me if we will make an exception for the prime minister, in case he runs there. Well, when I say with no exception, that means that there will be none. This is not an issue of individuals or personalities. Our decision is political: we want our ideas to be defended in all the constituencies in France, and, with all the more reason, in a district the RPR had abandoned out of courtesy.

[Question] Are you still condemning the government's economic policy while getting ready to pass the budget?

[Answer] The budget this year has only relative importance. We will certainly speak of it again after the presidential event. For the moment, the economic and social situation is, like the political situation, at an impasse between two contradictory but equally Manichean views: that of the government, for whom everything is good, and that of the PCF, for whom everything is bad. The "economism" of one and the "socialism" of the other both lead straight to a class economy. As for ourselves, we believe that the French should no more be condemned to submit to the law of the market than to the law of the CGT [General Confederation of Labor]. A different economic policy from that of the government is possible. We have said so often, but we are not content just to say it, and we are going to publish soon the results of studies made by about 100 people under the direction of Jean Meo since the beginning of the year.

In all areas we have constructive proposals to make. Our objective is an economy which serves man. This implies strong growth. For the gentle growth, the merits of which have been much vaunted before us, harsh for [line dropped] strong growth utopian? Our answer is "no", on condition that there is the desire to provide oneself with the means. For this, one must get rid of many ready-made ideas and prejudices, whether about taxes or credit, housing, or the family. There are structures to improve, others to change, external and internal constraints to ease. The undertaking is difficult, but we will show that it is possible.

And I certainly hope that the government will agree for once to discuss it at the time of the Eighth Plan, which should ordinarily be on the agenda for the next parliamentary session.

9516

CSO: 3100

PCF'S GREMETZ ANALYZES WORLD POWER BALANCE, FAVORS DISARMAMENT

Paris CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME in French Sep 80 pp 17-21

[Article by Maxime Gremetz "Peace and Disarmament in World Developments"-- passages between slantlines originally published in italics]

[Text] The struggle for the sovereignty and independence of France, for peace and disarmament, is a constant [theme] in the history of the French Communist Party [PCF]. We have shown this under all conditions, even at the cost of our comrades' blood: the right of every people to freely choose its destiny, like the right to live in peace, is a universal value for us.

This struggle we are relentlessly waging is taking into account changes in the international situation which may be profitably analyzed at a time when there is a formidable campaign [underway] to make us believe that the threat of war has substantially increased.

What things have been heard in recent months about a supposed danger of a third world war! According to some, the USSR was ready to swallow Europe whole, and people were into counting and comparing each side's divisions. According to still others, the world has not seen such a grave situation since 1945....

The war scare campaign has not stopped, but it had to be toned down in the face of the facts. So the news media embellish the theme of the "capitulation" of the West; there is talk of a new Munich, of "Finlandization"... What is happening, really?

The United States is not What it Was...

It would be naive not to have seen for several months now the important electoral concerns in Carter's policy. But the heart of the matter is elsewhere. Is it not significant that both there and here the "leadership" role of the United States is being increasingly questioned? Recent international events have in fact shown forcefully that while imperialism may still be aggressive and dangerous, it no longer reigns as absolute master of the world. Even if they regret it, many observers are having to face the

fact that the various highly developed capitalist countries must, to maintain their dominance, divide up the responsibilities and expenses which flow from it, especially in a time of crisis. The economic condition of the United States has deteriorated. The dollar is attacked as the unique standard of international [trade] relations. Even if it continues to exert a dominant and injurious influence on them, this is increasingly challenged. Inflation, unemployment, extreme social inequalities, racial problems that no amount of repression can diminish: all these problems testify to the depth of the general crisis of capitalism from which the "leader" is not immune.

Moreover, it was in recognition of these problems that the "Trilateral Commission" was created. Isn't it Carter himself who said, speaking of the peoples' aspirations for freedom, on 22 May 1977, that /"by ignoring this trend we will lose our influence and our authority in the world, while by taking the lead in this movement, we will regain the moral stature we once had"/? Not only is the United States no longer the sole master of the capitalist world, but its "moral authority" has suffered a blow. Its defeat in Vietnam was surely the most striking manifestation of this: so long as it wins, even at the price of the extermination of peoples, imperialism is well "regarded" by its peers, but woe to the defeated!

A Certain Sharing of Responsibilities

Confronted with the deepening structural crisis of the system, in the context of an unfavorable balance of power, the imperialist countries, under the guardianship of the United States, strengthen their concertation: to try to limit the strongest contradictions of interests between the multi-national corporations of the different countries; to coordinate their efforts, in order to face the pressure of the peoples. This is the economic significance of the re-deployment of the multi-nationals, the political significance of the resort to social-democracy.

It is in this context that the sharing of responsibilities among the imperialist countries comes in.

Plunged into a profound crisis, aggravated by the contraction of their sphere of influence, the capitalist countries are not overcoming certain conflicts of interest which should not be overestimated. Also, there are the different conditions of development and needs for the multi-nationals, differences in geographic and strategic situations, the balance of power within each country with respect to the place and role of the party of the working class: all these elements go into an explanation of the differentiations, the tacking about, in the implementation of a basic class line which is that of the various imperialist countries.

The Role of Europe...

There has been much ado for some time about the role of a so-called "independent" Europe. There is talk too about a "multi-polar" world. In its name has been "forgotten" the existence of an international class struggle, and people put the "imperialisms" on an equal footing. What is this exactly?

On basic questions, alinement with the United States is not being challenged. To the contrary, the only "debate" is on how to implement it.

The Venice summit meetings, in June, clearly showed this once again. When Carter spoke, everyone bowed down. Whether on the Middle East or American missiles, Europe does not want to ride alone. It takes its place in the overall imperialist strategy: it "takes care of" Africa, takes responsibility for the "control" of the Mediterranean, in order to try to prevent the peoples of the countries bordering it from choosing their [own] destiny. Every country has its task to accomplish in accordance with its place and its possibilities.

This Europe, it is the Europe of big capital, of consensus, of the right, and of social democracy, of austerity and unemployment.

The FRG plays a dominant role here. It is American imperialism's most sure and faithful ally on our continent. Everything it does is aimed at dragging Europe with it. From this point of view, Giscard d'Estaing's trip last July to the FRG is particularly revealing. It shows the grave responsibility the president of the republic is taking on himself by agreeing to play second banana and by contributing to the strengthening of this West German domination. At the same time, the contents of the statements of Giscard d'Estaing and Schmidt emphasize a convergence of views on the main issues.

Recent events show, at the same time, the existence of certain contradictions. Concerning Iran, Carter has demanded immediate and exemplary "sanctions" from the Nine. He obtained a "firm" statement, but as soon as it was signed, economic life resumed its normal course. On the pretext of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Carter again demanded sanctions. The "boycott" of the Olympic Games was the doing only of his "ultra-hardliners." As to economic relations, they are increasing between the USSR and the countries of Europe, even if they still remain short of their potential. Giscard's trip to Warsaw, and that of Schmidt to Moscow, show that, while still contributing through their policies to the international tensions and to the attempt at renewed military supremacy, they are constrained to keep them [tensions] within certain limits by the need to take account of the interests of the multi-nationals (in particular the necessity for them of trade with the socialist countries).

And That of the FRG

Schmidt's trip to Moscow is from this point of view especially enlightening. It gave rise to numerous commentaries. He repaired chings himself in an interview given shortly afterward to a French daily. /"There can be no question of my being duped."/ It is not superfluous to recall in this connection that it was at the insistence of the FRG that in December 1979 the decision was made by NATO to install, and on its own soil, new American missiles. So much for West Germany's spirit of "detente."

The FRG, despite a courageous battle by a number of its athletes, did not take part in the Olympic Games. Alinement with Carter is clear.

At the same time, on the economic side, trade between the USSR and the FRG is constantly increasing. Close to 500,000 West German workers would be out of jobs if all cooperation with the socialist countries were interrupted, including 400,000 involved in trade with the Soviet Union alone. With the deepening of the crisis, the FRG needs to cooperate with the socialist countries. As Schmidt himself said: /"I try to make my people understand that compromise, for example with neighboring states, is absolutely essential..."/ In a country where the democratic forces are of inadequate strength, anti-Sovietism and anticommunism must still respect certain realities.

And France?

The foreign policy of Valery Giscard d'Estaing is also enlisted in the counter-offensive of imperialism. It remains fundamentally oriented toward alinement with the FRG and allegiance to the United States. France is militarily committed in Africa, it supports NATO's decision on the new missiles, and it contemplates participating in the "first round of battle" with the neutron bomb. In terms of ideology, the Giscardian government takes an active part in the hate campaigns against socialism.

Nothing can disguise the profoundly pro-Atlantic and pro-European integration bias of such a policy. A supranational bias is also clear. Contrary to a time when Franco-German cooperation was being resumed, and there was a new move toward dialog with the USSR, in the interest of a France then playing a preponderant role in Europe, the policy being followed today by Giscard d'Estaing is one of decline, promoting in a deliberate manner the strengthening in every domain of the FRG in Europe.

Giscard went first to Warsaw to meet Leonid Brezhnev. France, too, was present at the Olympic Games. And French-USSR trade continues to grow. The government cannot ignore a French public which remains--despite the distortions of the "media"--mostly attached to national independence, and to Franco-Soviet cooperation.

Despite the additional support brought by the Socialist Party to his foreign policy, the Giscardian government is constrained to take into account the role and the initiatives of the PCF and of its wide echo in our country. Several retreats, duplicity, and some backing about show that it is possible to impose on this government, by struggling, the taking into account of some popular demands.

The Real Balance of Power

What lessons should be drawn from all these apparently contradictory facts? That internationally the reality of the balance of power is for everyone an unmistakable given. Yes, definitely it has consolidated in favor of the forces of national, social, and human liberation. It constrains imperialism to retreat and no longer allows it to decide war and peace as it likes.

The comparisons to 1938, aimed at making us believe that the world is on the brink of war, have nothing to do with reality. Without under-estimating the dangers which the aggressive policy of imperialism is creating for peace, there nevertheless exist today in the world the forces capable of facing them successfully, of imposing peace on it, a halt to the arms race, the reduction of armaments, respect for the right of peoples to liberate themselves and to freely choose their destiny.

The USSR and the socialist countries play from this point of view an essential role, in accordance with their fundamental orientation toward peace, detente, and disarmament. The constructive proposals advanced by the Warsaw Pact countries showed this again recently. Similarly, the recent withdrawal of a part of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan as well as the proposals of the government of that country constitute an important positive step in the direction of detente and peace.

Finally, the realism of the proposals presented by the USSR during the Schmidt visit should be stressed. The proposal for immediate negotiations includes the NATO forces, American nuclear weapons in forward-based positions, and medium-range nuclear missiles; it takes into account all the strategic factors, on the basis of respect for military balance and mutual security. Quite obviously, its results cannot be implemented until /after/ the ratification of the SALT II accords.

Joining with the development and determination of the socialist countries, the rising struggle of peoples for social progress and national liberation movements carry decisive weight today in determining the future of the world.

Yes, we were right to say, at the Paris Meeting of European communist and workers' parties, that /"decisive and persistent action by the peoples can muzzle imperialism and its warlike impulses and impose new retreats."/

A Great International Role

Despite Giscard's policy, France still has a favorable image in the world. Many peoples continue to expect much from it.

We want to see France, without jeopardizing its membership in the Atlantic Alliance, put forward in every circumstance and in complete independence its own proposals and initiatives in order to assure it a driving role, in a positive sense, in Europe and in the world. It is by refusing any subjection as well as all isolation that France will be able to follow its own audacious and constructive policy, a great policy of nonalignment. In this spirit, it should work toward transcending the blocs and toward their simultaneous dissolution.

Without further delay, France should pronounce itself:

--Against the deployment of the "Pershing" and "cruise missiles" on our continent, for the immediate opening of negotiations on the basis of mutual security and military balance.

--Against the manufacture of the neutron bomb, for the conclusion of a treaty forbidding research and production of any new weapon of mass extermination.

--France should ratify the international accords to which it has not yet adhered and participate in all international negotiations to promote a reduction in armaments and armed forces.

It should take action:

--For the holding of a European conference for military detente and disarmament on our continent, covering all weapons, conventional and nuclear.

--For the successful holding without further ado of the Madrid Meeting on European security and cooperation in the continuation of the Helsinki Conference, and act for the implementation by all states of all the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki. Madrid should open the way toward a European Disarmament Conference, to promote new measures to build military confidence and give an important place to questions of security in the Mediterranean.

--For the ratification of SALT II and the participation of France in new negotiations on strategic armaments (SALT III), when these negotiations reach the proper stage.

--For the immediate regulation of the arms traffic and the cessation of all sale of war materiel to fascist, colonialist, and racist governments.

--For the re-direction of the resources freed by the reduction of armaments toward social progress and to the struggle for development and against hunger.

An Authentic National Defense

A policy of independence and nonalignment for France today necessarily has a military dimension.

We, the communists, are supporters of universal disarmament. But we are realists. Halting the arms race, then a balanced reduction in armaments, can only be the fruit of a process whose duration would be difficult today to estimate. We must act resolutely to support this. At the same time, the independence, the authority, the effectiveness of France's activity in this area we are also a function of its defense capability. This is why we believe that France's security requires both that it have a real defense, and that it follows a coherent and persistent course of action leading to disarmament. We pronounce ourselves thus clearly for a policy of authentic national defense: for "maintenance," that is, for maintaining the operational

status of the French nuclear armament, and for a strategy of deterrence against all sides. We also reaffirm our commitment to an army of democratic conscription, with one-year military service.

Only One Solution: Struggle

There is no contradiction between the struggle for peace and disarmament, and the affirmation of the necessity of an authentic national defense, to guarantee our security. Neither super warriors, nor blind pacifists, the French communists are bearers of an ambitious policy for France, drawing support from the immense changes in progress in the world. The future is in the hands of those who struggle: the road is difficult, for imperialism remains aggressive, but everything shows that we can force it to retreat.

9516

CSO: 3100

OPERATIONS, ORGANIZATION OF FLNC REVEALED IN TRIAL

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Sep 80 p 14

[Article by Laurent Greilsamer--passages between slantlines originally published in italics]

[Text] And if he was really telling the truth? If he wouldn't budge from it, out of intellectual habit, intellectual discipline, and, ultimately, a concern for precision? In the week that he has appeared before the State Security Court, Mr Yves Stella--considered one of the main leaders of the Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC), according to the charges--has surprised [observers] by his determination not to let pass [unchallenged] any inaccuracies about himself and the organization of his movement. The arguments of his seven lawyers, coming from Bastia, Marseille, and Paris,¹ who asked the court /"to dissolve itself...in honor and dignity,"/ are already forgotten. Now that the court pounds contradictorily on the alleged acts of the accused, the latter explains himself carefully, repeats it for those who do not understand, explains himself, if there is need, in other words and other images.

So the court can be reassured. Mr Stella, age 37, who says of himself, /"I have been through a lot, I have aged a little,"/ is not a man to bare his soul. He is accused, he answers. The public ministry describes him as a /"political commissar,"/ an /"adviser"/ and /"spokesman of the FLNC."/ He concedes: /"Political commissar? That is not in our language, but really why not, yes why not, in big quotation marks. It would be the only epromotion [translation unknown] I have ever had."/ So, retorts the advocate general, you are the chief, the big chief. Not at all, interrupts Mr Stella, /"I am a militant among other militants."/ And, going back to the FLNC and its activities: /"You know, we are not Stalinist."/

His Newgate fringe imperious, standing in the box of the accused pieces of his files in hand, Mr Stella casts a glance at the two military advisers who along with three civil magistrates are judging him. He thinks, and he says that it is not easy to make his position in the FLNC understood. He nevertheless gives it a try: /"In a way, the Bastian group of the Annonciade² and myself formed a squad. Francois Lorenzi was a lance-sergeant, I was a

first-class reservist who had earned his stripes in the office and had a lot of pals there..." Mr Stella smiles. He remembers. And then, again this concern for truth, he just drops this little metaphor brought up in the hall of judgment. The image is not precise, one should rather speak of a platoon, or a small company. So Mr Stella follows up, with false starts, with hesitations, and with humor to boot: /"Francois Lorenzi was more of a career lieutenant risen from the ranks, and I a lieutenant in the reserves. Of course, the soldiers looked me over. Imagine! The lieutenant spoke well, he had his little papers to which he referred, his articles appeared in TAN!"³

In short, Stella is not /the/ big chief, nor /the/ theoretician of the FLNC. A mid-level officer, perhaps? A little more? Mr Stella is amused. The FLNC, he says, is not the army. In the FLNC, orders are discussed, sometimes they are opposed and not accepted, such things are written as /"satisfied that the FLNC has been able to produce such a humanitarian analysis,"/ he says, /"such a sensitive, almost anti-hierarchical document."/ A fixed image of the FLNC, which the militants blindly carry out attacks, Mr Stella rejects in favor of another vision represented, for example, by this group of the Annonciade, which refused to commit attacks against apartments where people from the Continent were residing.

This relative sense of proportion--spurring forth suddenly from a hard-hitting political speech--can only be understood, perhaps, by going back to Mr Stella's roots, in the village of Morsiglia, a town on the Corsican cape with /"its squared towers and its terraced vineyards."/ There, his family has lived since the 15th Century, a family of sailors and small officials, a family whose uncle, in 1820, /"was already speaking ill of the lawyers of Bastia!"/ A sacred heritage in which, Mr Stella declares, the island, the village, and the family are /"the three primeval parts."/ From which emerged his Corsican-ness, and his decision, quite abruptly, in 1974, that /"I would no longer endure what was to me unendurable."/ So he joins the FLNC in 1976 and will play the role he plays best, that of the intellectual.

He puts out economic, political, and cultural articles. He promotes ideas, submits proposals. He synthesizes and formulates. Later, in prison, he will be the "typist" for the 21 militants imprisoned with him, caught in the same raid. /"You called for super-terrorism,"/ accuses the president, Mr Claude Allaer. /"We gave advice, suggestions, opinions: no directives,"/ Mr Stella replies. /"We had no orders to give."/

In fact, Mr Stella explains at length, two forms of violence can be distinguished: /"armed propaganda?" and /"armed struggle."/ The first, which he preaches, /"does not envision using arms against people."/ It is rather a symbolic violence. /"The targets,"/ he states, /"can only be property. This violence is the sign of political rupture."/ The second, which he rejects for Corsica in 1980, consists turning weapons against one's adversaries. And on that point, though the court does not seem to want to want to understand it, Mr Stella is very clear about. Clearly alluding to the fusillade

aimed several months ago at the mobile police in Paris, which left 4 wounded and for which the FLNC claimed responsibility, the accused states firmly: /"Politically, I do not understand this kind of action. They frighten me. I do not know the perpetrators. What is certain is that there can be no armed struggle unless the people take it on themselves."/

But what does this /distinguo/ [translation unknown] mean to the court? Mr Stella readily admits his membership in the FLNC. To leave no doubt--ideologue of the "front" or not--he wants to be judged as one of his /"cari fratelli"/ (dear brothers). He takes upon himself the bomb attacks committed by his comrades. So, indeed: What does it matter if he did not commit them personally...He knows that the State Security Court, through his trial, is also trying the FLNC and the aspiration toward the /"creation of a political authority in Corsica."/ He knows--just as well--that he will get a heavy sentence.

FOOTNOTES

1. Francois Nativé, Francis Teitgen, Jean Maggiani, Charles Santoni, Camille Guidicelli, Antoine Sollacaro, and Vincent Stagnara.
2. The members of this group of the FLNC were judged by the State Security Court in June and July 1979. Mr Francois Lorenzi, notably, was sentenced to 13 years of criminal confinement. (LE MONDE of 12 July 1979).
3. The review TAM (Land, air, sea) is edited by the ministry of defense.

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CSO: 3100

HABIB-DELONCLE INTERVIEWED ON TRADE WITH ARAB WORLD

London 8 DAYS in English 27 Sep 80 pp 50-51

[Interview with Michel Habib-Deloncle, president of Chambre de Commerce Franco-Arabe]

[Text]

France is trying to diversify its commercial dealings with the Arab world, hoping to replace declining markets in the Maghreb. Here Michel Habib-Deloncle, president of the Chambre de Commerce Franco-Arabe since its creation in 1970, talks about its work.

Question: M. Habib-Deloncle, the Chambre de Commerce Franco-Arabe (CCFA) will soon be celebrating its tenth anniversary. To what extent do you think it has been able to contribute to promoting economic relations between France and the Arab world in the past decade?

Answer: We do not presume that it is only the existence and the activity of the CCFA which has been responsible for the significant upturn in Franco-Arab economic dealings during the past few years. However, we have undoubtedly played a part in helping French companies improve their knowledge of business opportunities in the Arab world and, of course, vice-versa. In order to achieve this goal, bilateral sections — one for each Arab country — organise regular special study sessions. These meetings are attended by ministers and senior civil servants from the Arab countries as well as key executives from major French companies. In addition, we send out study and information missions each year to every Arab country.

We also sponsor yearly symposiums, bringing together French and Arab experts on topics of mutual interest. For instance,

last year we held a symposium in Amman on the important theme of the transfer of technology. Later this year, our symposium in Tunisia, will have as its theme new sources of energy. Our activity includes the publishing of a yearbook and other information which permits French firms to fully appreciate the opportunities of expanding Arab markets as well as keeping them up to date on changes in trade legislation and fiscal policies.

In your view, what role do the chambers of commerce in Arab countries play in developing business relations with France or other industrialised states?

This mainly depends on the economic orientations of the respective countries. In those states where the government controls foreign trade, it is necessary to deal directly with the administration or para-statal companies, the chamber of commerce consequently playing a minor role. In countries having a more liberal approach to economic affairs, the chambers of commerce often have much influence in commercial affairs. It is my experience that most Arab countries usually respect the experience and competence of their respective chambers of commerce. This is why we have as a trusted partner the Arab Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture.

More than 50 per cent of French export trade to the Arab world is with the states in North Africa. Why has France had so much difficulty in diversifying its exports to other parts of the Arab world?

As you know, commercial patterns tend to persist much longer than the political

situations which usually engendered them. Foreign trade habits even survive political vicissitudes. This is the reason that Britain has been able to maintain a relatively favourable position in the countries in the Gulf which it used to administer. Nevertheless, I think that it is important to underline that a certain diversification is occurring in France's Arab-oriented trade. In fact, the Maghreb's place in France's commercial dealings with the Arab world is declining. This does not signify that France is losing these important markets, simply that due to the rapid augmentation of commercial activities in the Arab world east of Suez, the North African states' role in Franco-Arab trade is being reduced in proportion.

French businessmen often have the reputation of failing to fully appreciate the business opportunities in the Gulf. Is this justified?

There is no doubt that some years ago everything east of Suez was considered as a 'captive' British market. I myself made an extensive tour of the Gulf in 1968 and it was considered at that time unusual to find French businessmen in the region. After a brief period of hesitation, French businessmen have acquired an excellent first-hand knowledge of these important markets. The presence of French businessmen in the Gulf is now an accepted and expected fact.

By the same token, do you reckon that Arab businessmen have sufficient knowledge of business opportunities in France?

Certainly, many Arab businessmen have become well acquainted with opportunities offered by the French economy. They even, in a constructive way, have let us know what type of changes and improvements they would like to see for doing business in France. Basically, the suggestions concern the maintaining of closer contacts, more frequent posting of French executives to Arab countries and a greater respect of contract deadlines.

English is generally the lingua franca for business dealings of Gulf states with the non-Arabic speaking world. Is this a handicap for French companies operating in the area?

French companies have fully understood the necessity of training their executives, technicians and sales personnel to speak English and even Arabic. We have advised them to have business dealings with the Middle East states, whenever possible,

directly in Arabic. The question of English cannot really be considered today as a handicap for French firms. I might also mention that bilingual Lebanese and Maghreb executives have been often employed by French companies in their Middle East departments.

If the quality of French goods and services are generally recognised in the Gulf, it is often said that they are relatively too expensive.

Indeed, I have on several occasions heard similar comments from my friends in the region. This could be in part the result of French monetary policy. I reckon that perhaps a better explanation is that French corporations are loath to offer artificially low prices, which during the contract execution period have a tendency to be pushed up. French firms are fully aware that the quality merchandise and services they provide cost more. But in the long run this may be an advantage, because our Arab partners are rarely dissatisfied with the results. How many Arab countries have learned the hard way these past few years that the lowest bidders are not necessarily the best performers?

To what extent has France's pro-Arab policy since General de Gaulle acted as a fillip for French business endeavours?

Without a doubt, France has an excellent reputation in the Arab world. This means that in the intense competition for contracts, French corporations will benefit from this positive atmosphere. If price, delivery delays and other aspects are about equal among bidders, French firms are likely to carry off the deal. What is more, a number of Middle Eastern states will deliberately choose French firms for certain deals simply because they wish to see a greater French presence in the region. This pro-French attitude does not mean, however, that French companies can totally disregard the play of market forces.

Are you satisfied with the progress made in patching up Franco-Algerian relations?

Cooperation between Algeria and France is, I would say, a historical and geographic necessity which must inevitably carry the day in spite of temporary ups and downs in bilateral relations. Even during periods of intense tension between the two countries, cooperation and economic ties were not suspended. I will only be completely satisfied when Franco-Algerian relations have reached a state of reciprocal confidence and good will, that is, when all

the outstanding problems between the two capitals have been resolved.

I am particularly concerned about the problem posed by the future of the Algerian migrant worker community in France. The *rapatriement*, which started during the last few years of the Boumedienne regime, has progressed satisfactorily since Chadli Benjedid became head of state. I am convinced that the Algerian leadership would like to move as quickly as possible in this direction.

What sectors do you judge most favourable for the expansion of Franco-Arab economic ties?

Arab countries appreciate advanced French technology. They believe that France does not have an 'egotistical' approach to technological questions. It appears to me that France could benefit from this call for the sharing of technology by establishing joint ventures with Arab governments. The prime example of this type of cooperation is the agreement between the state-controlled CDF-Chimie and the Qatar General Petroleum Company (QGPC) for a petrochemical complex in northern France and a second one at Umm Said. Partnerships along these lines should be strongly encouraged.

As you mentioned, the CCFA held a symposium in Amman last year on the theme of the transfer of technology. What concrete results on technological cooperation have followed from what you termed the spirit of the 'Club of Amman'?

It is difficult to precisely draw up a balance sheet of the Amman symposium's impact because participating firms and governments do not keep us informed of all the agreements signed in this key domain. One concrete result of the Amman gathering, however, was the signing of a technical cooperation accord between the French and Jordanian governments. The Club of Amman exists in the sense that we have set up here in Paris a committee on technical matters which maintains links with Arab governments and organisations who were present.

How have Franco-Arab consortium banks contributed to the expansion of trade and financial ties between France and the Arab world?

Their role has been extremely positive. In the first place, they have helped arrange the

financial backing for many an important French deal with Middle Eastern states. Secondly, they have acted as a training ground where French and Arab bankers and businessmen have learned to know each other better and have a better understanding of French and Arab needs.

It is not rare to hear Arab bankers and businessmen complain about what they term the overly rigid foreign exchange regulations in France. They also say that this hampers the development of Franco-Arab banking and business ventures.

Yes, I too have often heard such comments. I hope that the evolution of France's economy will permit the gradual relaxation of exchange controls, as was the case in the pre-1968 period. Any measures going in this direction will be a spur to French economic relations with the Arab world.

Until now, direct Arab investment in France has not, as in Britain and the United States, been a subject of controversy. How do you explain this?

Direct Arab investment in France has been relatively limited. It has been concentrated, in general, in real estate and has been, therefore, rather discreet. In the case of CDF-Chimie and Qatar, which I mentioned earlier, the investment was mutual so there was no real grounds for challenge. For my part, I hope that Arab investment in France will increase.

President Giscard d'Estaing has suggested the development of a new form of cooperation between Europe, the Arab world and sub-Saharan Africa. How do you envisage this three-way relationship?

The Arab countries view sub-Saharan Africa, especially those countries with a strong Muslim influence, as a natural extension of the Arab world. In the past decade they have already significantly contributed to financing a number of important development projects in black Africa.

The 'trilogue' proposal put forward by the French head of state is welcomed in the sense that it would broaden and generalise the blending of Arab financial strength and European technological know-how for the benefit of all three partners. Such relationships are increasingly necessary and vital in a world where economic conditions are in rapid evolution.

REASONS FOR ARIANE FAILURE STILL NOT CLEAR

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Sep 80 p 26

[Article by Maurice Arvonny]

[Text] On 23 May 1980, to the consternation of all who had for the last 7 years participated in its development, the Ariane rocket disintegrated in flight several minutes after launch from the Guianese base of Kourou. It was a serious setback, but the first firing, on 24 December 1979, had been completely successful. It was also an astonishing failure since it was apparently the result of the malfunctioning of one of the four first-stage engines. Now these engines are technologically well-tested, and they had been subjected to multiple tests on the ground. Putting their bottles of champagne back into the cupboard--and, for some of them, their hopes of a vacation as well--the engineers and technicians turned to analyzing the causes of the failure.

Four months later, many possible causes of the 23 May breakdown have been discovered, but it is still not known whether any of them is correct. Several working groups have scrutinized the in-flight data, compared them with those of the successful shot several months earlier, examined the engines recovered off Kourou, and, finally, made numerous tests of the engines: almost one a day in July. Since 15 September, their conclusions have been reviewed by a new areopagus, composed of representatives of the European Space Agency, the National Center for Space Studies, the technical directorate on rockets of the ministry of defense, and the industrial firms that built the rocket.

The breakdown of May is not cleared up, and it cannot be hoped to reconstruct exactly how it happened. But it has been possible to eliminate several hypotheses; so it is no longer thought to be the plastic sticker found in the injector of the faltering engine. It was thought, at the time, that the sticker could have caused instability in the flow of the propergols [translation unknown] by obstructing two or three orifices of the injector, but this piece of equipment, which is somewhat similar to an automobile carburetor, has close to 1,000 orifices.

Analysis also excluded a random breakdown per se of the engine concerned.

They put into evidence deviations in the changes of several of the parameters, deviations which are possible explanations of the breakdown. The experts deduced from these some improvements which it is hoped will be the remedy. In parallel fashion, they imagined possible breakdown scenarios, and verified that the proposed improvements cover these diverse cases. So there are good grounds for hoping to greatly reduce the probability that a similar failure will occur, and for minimizing the probability of other foreseeable breakdowns--for example a failure in the stage separation.

The first group of possible improvements covers the launch pad. It has been verified that the gas escape hole was deep enough, and excluded any direct interaction between the launch pad and the missile. But there could be an acoustical linkage. Analysis has shown that the functioning of the engines is not strictly identical on the test benches of Vernon, Hardhausen (FRG) and Kourou. To diminish the noise level--which is moreover also desirable for other reasons--deflectors can be mounted on the launch pad and water can be injected into the hole that receives the exhaust. Tests are presently being performed on a 1/20-scale model to determine whether these modifications rather costly, would really bring about an abatement of noise.

The Injectors

But the injectors are the main subject of investigation. It has been determined that the various available injectors have different characteristics, but it has not been possible to distinguish those that function correctly from those that are perhaps sensitive to high-frequency oscillations in pressure. Such oscillations, coming several seconds after launch, inhibited the functioning of an engine and brought about the failure of the shot last May.

Three control procedures are under way. First of all, careful inspections are being made to match injectors with such-and-such characteristics in common, and to test overall functioning. It seems well established that four engines operating together require greater uniformity in the injectors than the tolerances acceptable for one engine alone.

Next, fluid gauging is being performed; water is sent first through the channels that conduct propergol [translation unknown--propellant?] (UDMH) [expansion unknown], next via those which bring the other (nitrogen oxide). From the measurements made, it can be deduced how the propergols would mix with each other if they were really sent into the injector.

Finally, launch tests are being performed. For half a minute the injector feeds an engine, and the combustion pressure and the propergol mix ratio are varied beyond the normal tolerances.

The totality of these tests and conclusions that the commission, which is presently examining the reports of the working groups, will receive, could result in definitive conclusions before the end of October. If all goes well, the missile prepared for the third shot--all the parts are [already] manufactured--could leave the SNIAS [expansion unknown] works in Les Mureaux, where Ariane's three stages are assembled, by the end of November. The firing could come in the second half of February.

It will be trying to put into orbit the second Meteosat, awaited by all meteorologists since the failure that put out of service the viewing instrument of the first Meteosat in November 1979. At one time the idea was considered of minimizing the risks by not having the rocket [to be] fired in February carry a satellite, but this idea was abandoned. It would have pushed back too far the launching of Meteosat 2--for lack of an available rocket--and would greatly increase the cost of the program.

9516

CSO: 3100

NEW FIVE-YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT WITH USSR SIGNED

Reykjavík MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 17 Sep 80 p 12

[Article: "New Five-Year Agreement With USSR: Increased Fuel Oil Purchase, Increased Sale of Canned Goods, Woolen Goods and Paint"]

[Text] A new five-year trade agreement between the USSR and Iceland for the period 1981-1985 has just been signed. Tomas Arnason, minister of commerce, signed on behalf of Iceland and on behalf of the USSR, Mr Kuznikov, appointed deputy minister of foreign trade. The agreement was signed in Moscow on 11 September this year. In addition to the minister of commerce, the members of the Icelandic negotiating committee were Thorhallur Asgeirsson, permanent under secretary, Ambassador Haraldur Kroyer and Sigridur Snaevarr, counselor.

During a press conference yesterday that was held at the Ministry of Commerce in connection with this event, Minister of Commerce Arnason said that this was only a frame agreement, price agreement had not been made, and that they were often made many times a year between producer and buyer. This agreement stipulated, among other things, that the Icelanders would buy 110-118,000 tons of fuel oil instead of almost 110,000 earlier (although Iceland will purchase 150,000 tons this year). There was an agreement to sell 15-20 tons of salted herring (2-4 tons earlier); canned goods for 4.6-6.5 million American dollars (1.3-2 earlier); woolen goods for 4.4-9 million dollars (instead of 2.1-3 earlier); paint and lacquer for this period up to 1,500 tons a year (instead of 1,000-1,500 earlier).

An attempt was made during this trip to get the Soviets to purchase more canned goods this year, as well as frozen fish fillets. It is hoped that the Soviets will buy up to 5,000 tons of fish fillets before the end of the year and 40,000 cases of canned goods, mostly fillets of pickled herring. No definite answers, however, were obtained to these proposals, but the answers are said to be forthcoming, according to the minister of commerce.

Minister of Commerce Arnason said what mostly caused difficulties in the negotiations with the Soviets, was the unstable economic situation here and the great inflation resulting in fluctuating prices. The price in the USSR is frozen, and there are examples of the price of some goods being the same as it was during World War II. It would therefore be difficult to change that price, unless the merchandise in question or similar merchandise would be sold in different packaging or would be manufactured in a different way.

8583

CSO: 3111

PAPER WEIGHS GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE RECORD ON ANNIVERSARY

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 3 Sep 80 p 16

[Editorial: "Two-Year Old Government Policy"]

[Text] Presently there are two years since the government of Geir Hallgrímsson left office and the leftist government of Ólafur Jóhannesson took over on 1 September 80. Aside from the short period when the minority government of the Social Democrats was in power, the People's Alliance and the Progressive Party have formed the government policy and the implementation of that policy during these two years. Six of the nine leftist ministers, who started the "rescue efforts" of the national economy in the fall of 1978, have a seat in the current administration. What have they been doing for two years?

The most decisive factors of the national economy for the daily life of the people and for the forming of standard of living, have "developed" thus during the two years of the leftist government rule:

1. National expenditures, which were 138 billion kroner according to the 1978 budget, have increased to 343 billion kroner according to the 1980 budget. The increase of state expenditures, measured in kroner, is 148 percent.
2. Direct taxes have increased about 20 billion kroner and indirect excise taxes over 30 billion kroner. The tax increase is therefore between 50-60 billion kroner total, or 12-14 hundred thousand kroner in 1980 for each family of five in the country, compared with the tax regulations of the year 1978.
3. Inflation, measured by the cost of living index, rose from 1,162 points in August 1978 to 2,600 points in August 1980, or about 124 percent.
4. Foreign debts amounted to 134 billion kroner during 1977 which was the last whole year the Hallgrímsson's government was in power. Compared

with the status of foreign debts in 1979 and the net-credit expansion estimates under the Credit Budget for 1980, this current status of foreign debts could reach 380 billion kroner by the end of the year. The total amount of foreign debt, measured in Icelandic kroner, would then have increased by about 180 percent.

5. The development of the value of Icelandic kroner in terms of increased rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar is as follows: The sale price of the U.S. dollar at the end of August 1978, that is 25 August that year, was 260.40 kroner. Today the sale price is a little over 500 kroner, an increase of 92 percent. If the so-called tourist exchange rate, which did not exist in 1978 and now is 550 kroner, is used as a base, the price increase of the U.S. dollar is 111 percent.

6. Finally, the real purchasing power of the hourly wage rates, which was much aired in the election campaign in 1978, should be mentioned. In a recent newsletter from the Wage Investigation Committee, the real purchasing power is set at 100 in 1971. When the government of Halldorsson, the "wage-robbery government" as it was called by fanatical labor leaders and political henchmen, left office in the beginning of September 1978, this purchasing power had reached 118.8, and has not risen since, despite the fact that "elections yield improved standard of living" and that probably "contracts have been validated" as was expected. The real purchasing power of the hourly wages of an unskilled laborer has, however, dropped down to 103.8 in April 1980. It went below 100, or the real purchasing power of the year 1971, in May this year. After wage increases in June it again rose to around 108, which is quite a bit below the real purchasing power that existed during the end of the tenure of Halldorsson's government in the fall of 1978; a government, THJODVILJINN called a "wage-robbery government." This term, "wage-robbery government," is not to be found on the pages of THJODVILJINN nor other leftist organs these days. Nor is the slogan "elections yield improved standard of living." Today the demand "contracts to be validated" is considered to be a capitalistic heresay.

For two years the leftist political parties have aired their left-wing policies in the Icelandic economy--with a result obvious to all, and there is no need to discuss it any further. All the big words the leftist used during the election campaign in 1978 have been an embarrassment. The conduct the ministers of the People's Alliance have exhibited during the almost two years of government rule, has been a continuing confession of the fact that they lied to the nation and deceived the voters, both in 1978 and 1979. But the nation has learned by experience. This experience will show the nation the way.

PAPER LOOKS AT MOVES TO NATIONALIZE AIR SERVICE

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Sep 80 p 24

[Editorial: "People's Alliance Attacks Flugleidir"]

[Text] The People's Alliance has launched an attack on Flugleidir. The goal is to ruin the company, nationalize it and thereby secure nationalized air transportation. The methods the People's Alliance has employed in these maneuvers are as follows:

Firstly, the party utilizes its position in the government to cause difficulties for the company at the same time ministers and other spokesmen of the People's Alliance pretend to want to do everything in their power to secure the welfare of the people, who are losing their jobs because of the tightening of our air operations.

Secondly, the big-mouths of the People's Alliance, Olafur Ragnar Grímsson and Baldur Oskarsson, are used to create distrust and suspicion on the company among the public because of the difficulties the company now faces. The News Department of the State Radio has misrepresented facts in such a manner that the People's Alliance can be happy. This, for instance, caused a special radio news program to be almost useless because of disputes over the basic facts. But such bickering during a "special news program" is probably unique. However, everybody has the right to apologize, and in the MORGUNBLADID today the newscasters apologized for the mistakes. The ministers of the People's Alliance have prevented Steingrímur Hermannsson's proposal of abolishing landing fees from being accepted. They have only agreed to postponing those payments; and the company actually received a threatening letter this summer demanding immediate payment. The ministers from the People's Alliance are partially to blame, along with other ministers, for Flugleidir not receiving necessary adjustments on domestic air fares, which has resulted in considerable losses on domestic flights. The so-called supervisor for the minister of finance for Flugleidir's operations, Baldur Oskarsson, has actually worked as a political representative of the People's Alliance towards undermining the company in every way. He has broken the law of his office and is no longer fit to be the appointed representative of

the national treasury, which granted state guarantee, supervising the operations of the company. Oskarsson has committed an offense by discussing the affairs of Flugleidir in an interview with THJODVILJINN in a manner not suitable for a man holding his office. In this interview a veiled threat emerges indicating that the People's Alliance minister of finance will refuse to agree to the planned sale of Flugleidir's Boeing-jets. Such a refusal would increase the company's difficulties still more and jeopardize the jobs of the remaining employees. The views Oskarsson expressed during the radio newshour yesterday were such, that the other government appointed supervisor, Birgir Gudjonsson, published a comment where he stated that the supervisors would have in two separate statements and that Oskarsson's views were not the views of supervisors in general.

The big-mouths, Oskarsson and Grimsson, strive towards creating distrust of Flugleidir in many different ways. An interview with Oskarsson on the radio yesterday was filled with hints and insinuations. Grimsson calls the afternoon papers and offers his views about Flugleidir's financial statement being a propaganda tool based on fraud. It has certainly become an ethical question for the newspapers whether they should let these spokesmen of the communists use them in this manner.

From the beginning Icelandic air operations have been built up by individuals, who were idealists first and financiers second. These idealists and pioneers are still in the leadership of Flugleidir; men like Orn Johnson and Alfred Eliasson. The initiative these men and their colleagues showed, has created the fairy tale of Icelandic air transportation. Negatively thinking politicians and big-mouths had nothing to do with that. But during some of the most difficult times Icelandic air transportation has encountered, these men are going to use the opportunity to damage this private enterprise and ruin the work of many people who have built up air transportation in Iceland.

Whatever views people may have on the news that has emerged during recent weeks from Flugleidir, and whatever position people have taken regarding disputes within the company, all those who participated in building up air transportation during the recent decades, as well as all the many Icelanders who have admired this initiative and benefitted from it, will be able to unite and turn defense into aggression and start a hard battle against the attempts of the demolishing squad in the People's Alliance who want to ruin the company and nationalize it.

5583

CSO: 3111

BRIEFS

INCREASED TRADE WITH USSR--Trade between Iceland and the USSR has been increasing during the recent years and seems to be increasing still more in the near future, according to an announcement by Thorhallur Asgeirsson, secretary general of the Ministry of Commerce, made at a press conference yesterday regarding a newly signed trade agreement between the countries. During the first seven months of last year Iceland exported merchandise to the USSR for 5.9 million kroner, but at the same time this year for 13.0 billion kroner. Imports from the USSR to Iceland last year amounted to 13.0 billion kroner, but the first seven months of this year it amounted to 26.9 billion kroner. The share of USSR imports in Iceland's foreign trade is also increasing. Imports from USSR was 9.6 percent during the first seven months of last year, but 10.3 percent this year. During the first seven months of last year, 4.4 percent of our total exports was to the USSR, but 5.8 percent during the same time period this year. [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 17 Sep 80 p 12] 9538

CSO: 3111

ENEL PRESIDENT DISCUSSES PROGRESS IN NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN

Rome NOTIZIARIO COMITATO NAZIONALE PER L'ENERGIA NUCLEARE in Italian Jun 80
pp 31-34

[Article by ENEL president Francesco Corbellini: "The ENEL and the Italian Thermoelectromechanical Industry"]*

[Text] Many of the calculations with respect to the development of the electromechanical industry are based on the premise that the ENEL [National Electric Power Agency] programs for the construction of new electric power plants (hydroelectric, thermal and nuclear) will be initiated and will proceed in relatively orderly fashion. The ENEL has been asked explicitly what the fate of these programs will be.

I must repeat here that although implementation of these programs is the primary responsibility of the ENEL, other basic components are in fact involved. Everyone must do his part.

1. First of all, the political forces of the nation must do their part and find the strength to oppose local revision of each and every one of our siting requests. They must also reach the agreement necessary for approval of the bill before Parliament to speed up the procedures governing the granting of authorization for construction of the power plants and for an increase in the ENEL appropriation--an increase which is necessary for the orderly development of the programs. These political forces should reflect on the ENEL's continuing experience at Montalto, where it is forced to carry on legal battles against a municipality which has stated explicitly that it will use every possible pretext and legal cavil to block construction of the power plant. While respecting the democratic principle of decisions at the community level, it is essential to find a system under

* Report presented on 11 April 1980 to the National Conference on "The Italian Instrumental Thermoelectromechanical Industry," organized by the IEFE [Institute of the Economy of Energy Sources] of the "Luigi Bocconi" Commercial University in Milan.

which it will not be possible--as today occurs in practice--for local entities constantly to call into question decisions that have already been taken. What is happening today on the local political scene is that the opposition automatically opposes every one of our siting requests regardless of its political coloration, with the result that the easiest course for the parties in power in a given local jurisdiction is frequently to join in opposing the siting request, in a collective ecological march toward a national energy disaster.

2. The trade unions must do their part--and in particular the electrical unions, which we welcome as being one of the guarantees of success in the construction and operation of our plants. They must, however, carry out their task in a constructive manner: they must avoid the adoption of positions which could lead to unwarranted delays in the activation of new plants, with the consequent failure to replace petroleum with other energy sources (or delay its replacement), thereby causing serious harm to the community.

3. Lastly, industry must do its share, in its basic role as builder of the machinery required for the plants. Industry and the unions, moreover, are vitally interested in having an energy supply that is as secure as possible, at prices that are not too much higher than those of the industrial countries which are our competitors.

In the case of nuclear power the question is broader in scope. We may begin by examining what the ideal development of the program would be: that is to say, what it would be if we were not faced with external restraints. We accordingly propose--as indicated in the diagram in Figure 1--to start from a point "zero," established hypothetically as of 1 May 1980. The diagram postulates the start of construction on two units every 8 months, with a little less than 2 and 1/2 years allowed for siting (including land acquisitions) and 7 years for actual construction (up to the time both units are placed in commercial use) for the first of the power plants to be constructed; this latter figure drops to slightly more than 6 years in the case of the last plants to be built. For each power plant, the time lapse preceding access to the site--that is to say, preceding the actual start of work on the site itself--is clearly indicated.

The judgment to the effect that it is possible for the ENEL, the CNEN [National Nuclear Energy Commission] and Italian industry to adopt such a tempo of work is a judgment which we believe is shared by everyone, especially (as is to be desired) if "prelicensing" (now in the process of implementation) of the consolidated project takes place.

But what are the concrete prospects for carrying out this program? I do not know. I do know, however, that the Interregional Consultative Commission decided at its meeting last 28 February that the CNEN and ENEL, with the participation of the concerned regions, would complete as soon as possible all the surveys with respect to site selection, in order that the regions may then reach a decision on the basis of a complete knowledge of

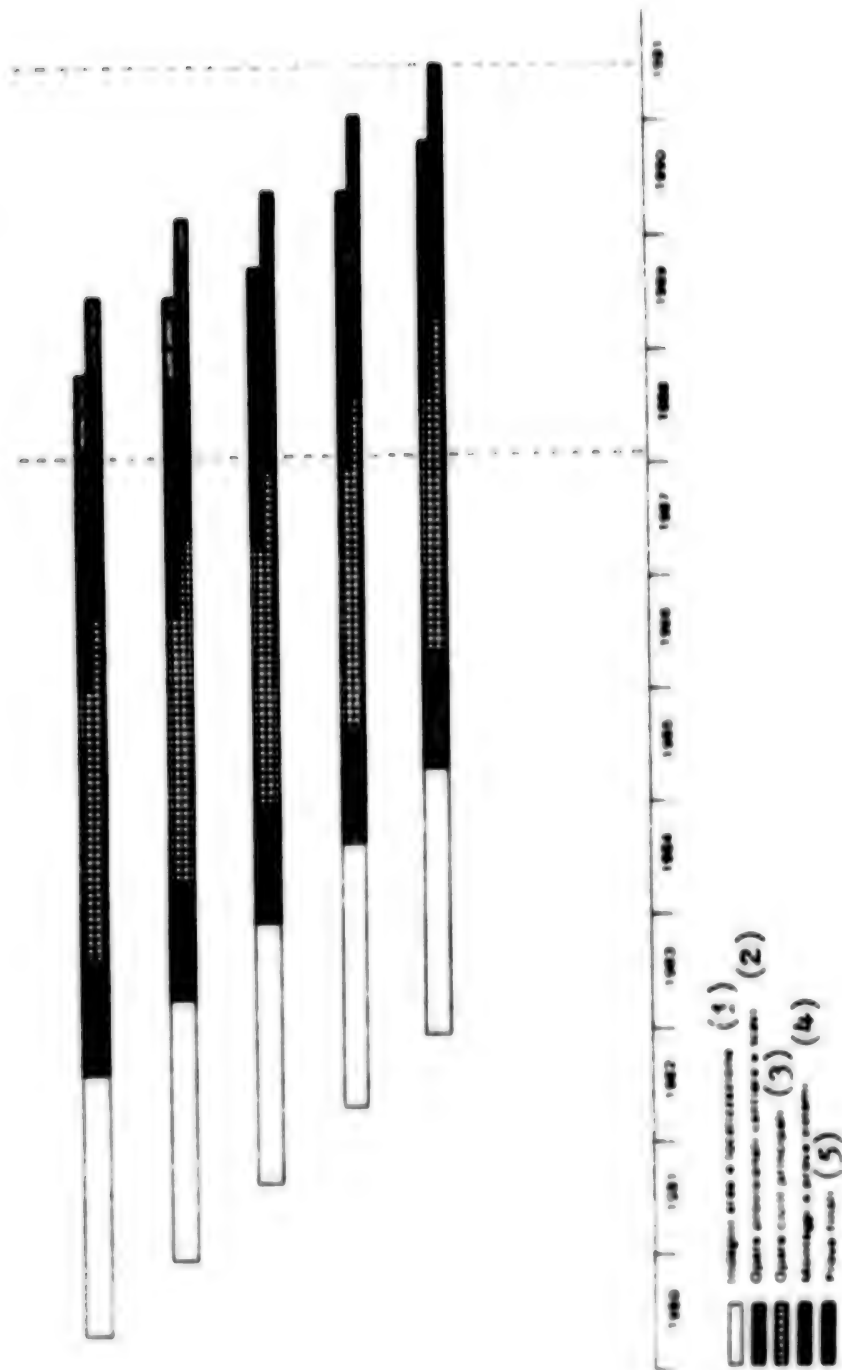


Figure 1. Timetable for the 10 Nuclear Units

- Key:
1. Area and site surveys
 2. Temporary construction and excavation at site
 3. Principal construction work
 4. Assembly and testing of systems
 5. Final tests

the characteristics of the sites. The decisions of the regions are in essence modified and concentrated, as follows from the graph in Figure 2.

We may therefore conclude that if there is a minimum political will to implement the decisions reached at these meetings, we can immediately undertake the task of site selection and thereby begin to carry out the program set forth. This program could become even more rational if it could be closely coordinated with the program of some EEC member country where the situation with respect to nuclear questions is similar to ours. One need only consider the fact that if ultimately the plants in the two countries concerned were identical the component industries of both countries could have access to a much wider market, and many advantages could also derive with respect to planning and safety. This would be a concrete step toward one of the objectives of the Common Market. We hope that industry, for its part, will continue the soundings that have been initiated in this regard, just as we for our part will do likewise.

Then there is the image of the ENEL as "coproducer" of power plants. This thought-provoking expression was coined by Professor Vacca, president of the IEFE, and in essence signifies that the ENEL is carrying out its role of a client that is technologically developed and accordingly concerns itself with the design of its plants. The concept of the ENEL as "coproducer" has relevance when one is speaking of plants to be constructed by Italian industry for clients other than the ENEL. Vacca has made a comparison with what has occurred in respect to relations between the Italian State Railways and Italian industry--relations which reportedly rendered the latter unable to present complete designs for railway installations and thereby placed it in a difficult position on the international market. In fact (if my recollections as the son of a railroad man are correct) the participation of the Equipment and Traction Service of the Italian State Railways was far more incisive than ours because it went into constructive detail. The State Railways participated directly: for example, in the design of the traction engine itself. The ENEL has never participated--nor had any intention of participating--in design activity of this type. The boilers, alternators and turbines are components in which our design section will never play a role. Based on my own professional experience, moreover, I believe that plants of the type of our standardized plants--coal-fired plants of 640 megawatts and nuclear plants of 1,000 megawatts, with the built-in safety systems, redundancies and technical sophistication which we insist on and which in the future will probably be conditioned increasingly by ecological concerns--cannot be of interest to developing countries that regard them as a luxury which they cannot afford, pressured as they are by other exigencies. Furthermore, those foreign countries whose energy levels and environmental requirements are similar to ours are technologically developed countries that build power plants with the same characteristics and procedures as those with which we build our own, or very nearly so. Lastly, in the case of countries that are technologically less developed the function of general design is often performed by outside consultants, and as a result the overall planning of the plant is in almost all cases left neither to the builder nor to the operator.



Figure 2. General Schedule for a pair of 1000-Mwe [Megawatts of Electric Power] Nuclear Units

Figure 2. General Schedule for a Pair of 1000-Mwe [Megawatts
of Electric Power] Nuclear Units

Key:

1. Recommendation of two areas of region
2. Research by ENEL
3. Presentations of RPS [expansion unknown] Part A to MICA
[expansion unknown] of CNEN and regions
4. Investigation by CNEN
5. Final decision by region
6. Site selection
7. Site acquisition
8. Presentation of RPS Part B to CNEN
9. Review of RPS Part B by CNEN
10. Issuance of construction permit
11. Start of temporary construction and excavation at site
12. Start of laying of foundations
13. Design of plant in question
14. Preliminary disposition of documents for competitive bidding
15. Bidding on construction work
16. Signing of contract for construction work
17. Organization of building contractors
18. Start of installation of mechanical components of Unit 1
19. Start of installation of mechanical components of Unit 2
20. Hydrostatic test of Unit 1
21. Charging of fuel in Unit 1
22. Hydrostatic test of Unit 2
23. Start of commercial operation of Unit 1
24. Charging of fuel in Unit 2
25. Start of commercial operation of Unit 2
26. Months

In the case of the new nuclear plants, however, we are committed to finding a system of general and detailed design that will satisfy the ENEL's requirement that it--the ENEL--be present from the very outset; for the operator can in fact perform his functions in a rational and safe manner only if he is thoroughly familiar with all the smallest details of the plants themselves. This system should, moreover, satisfy industry's requirement that those elements be acquired which will enable it to carry out efficiently--outside the ENEL program--its role of general contractor or even, in special cases, of plant designer: cases which will probably (and I repeat) be quite different from the Italian pattern. As you know, we have been striving for a long time now to develop such a system of design through the instrumentality of a mixed ENEL-industry group formed specifically for the purpose.

It is a different matter, however, in the case of those plants where new technologies are the object of our research or our experimentation. The relationship between the ENEL, industry and other concerned entities should in such cases become even closer; this has in fact already taken place in those plants which are included in our research programs (I may cite, for example, the 1-megawatt plant at Livorno designed to test the fluid-bed combustion of high sulfur coal and of urban and industrial waste). In addition to the experimental plants, however, a number of pilot plants will be necessary: that is to say, plants whose dimensions are not so radically scaled down and in which experimentation approaches the level of industrial use. To continue on the subject of coal, however, I am thinking of how much we have to do to be able to burn Sulcis coal, which we shall initially utilize "as is" but which we should--as soon as possible--enable ourselves to burn at pollution levels that are in compliance with national standards. This experience will be invaluable to us in the future (a future which we hope is distant) in which it may be (or become) necessary or advantageous to use coal of a quality inferior to the quality of the coal currently available on the world market.

When we go from the small experimental plants to the demonstration plants--that is to say, when we go from capacities of 1 megawatt to those of from 20 to 100 megawatts--the financial commitment becomes much greater, and these plants are therefore unable (unless the government explicitly requests it) to participate in our usual research programs. I shall only proclaim, in this connection, the ENEL's complete readiness to consider in a constructive spirit any rational solution that is proposed. The important thing is that these pilot plants--in one way or another--be built as quickly as possible and with breadth of vision with a view to preparing a future for us operators and for Italian industry, which will in this way be able in the future to export these plants even to technologically developed countries.

And so we proceed to the last point: What direct contribution can the ENEL make to the export effort of Italian industry? There is no doubt that within certain limits the ENEL can facilitate contacts between Italian industry and those electric power companies throughout the world with which the ENEL maintains relations of the utmost mutual trust.

Then there are private transactions which can be considered in connection either with the importation of electric power or with the importation of fuels, and which can represent opportunities to develop excellent prospects for Italian industry to obtain contracts for work abroad.

I believe the ENEL can achieve something in these areas, but on condition that there be some entity with which Italian industry can identify--in other words, on condition that the ENEL be called on to assist what we from time to time refer to as the "Italy Company," which would group together the public and private industrial sectors and be accepted as such by everyone. In order not to raise false hopes, however, it seems to me to be obligatory to add that even if all these conditions are met, such opportunities for the contracts would occur only sporadically. The primary task of the ENEL remains that of putting into operation its own program for the construction of power plants--together with transmission and distribution facilities--in Italy.

I should like to conclude on a happy note. We are among those countries which receive substantial financing from the EEC for the construction of electric power plants and installations: one of the conditions of this financing is that the industries and enterprises of the Community may participate in the bidding. Until now we have put up a passive resistance on this point, but I do not anticipate that we can do so for much longer. On the other hand this financing is vital for us, unlike other countries where the conditions of reciprocity implied by the opening up of markets are likely to prove only theoretical. I should like to recall in this connection that during the past 2 years we have received EEC loans totaling approximately 700 billion lire. It is therefore a problem for which I see no easy solution and which I leave to your consideration.

10992

CSO: 5100

FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER KLAUW ADDRESSES GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Hague ALGEMEEN NEDERLANDS PERSBUREAU in English 26 Sep 80, supplement pp 1-7

[Text] The Hague, September 25--The following is the full text, as released by the foreign ministry here, of Foreign Minister Chris van der Klaauw's address to the United Nations General Assembly today:

"Mr President,

1. It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you on your election to the high office of president of the 35th session of the General Assembly

2. You have during the past few years given ample proof of your knowledge of U.N. matters, of your wisdom and tact and of your organisational abilities. We look forward to working with you in the days ahead.

We also want to extend our cordial congratulations to the president of the previous General Assembly and compliment him on the most efficient and exemplary way in which he guided our work.

3. I also wish to address very special congratulations to the delegation of Zimbabwe. Likewise we welcome most warmly the delegation of St Vincent and the Grenadines in our midst. We wish these sovereign and independent states a bright and peaceful future and we declare our solidarity with their brave endeavours to that end.

4. The general debate in this assembly presents us, each year again, with a good opportunity to evaluate the events of the year behind us and to draw our conclusions in respect of the future. And each year we try to formulate recommendations that appear to us most suited to the mood of this particular period.

5. The developments in the international political situation since we met last year, have been deeply disturbing as they have tended to undermine rather than enhance the rule of law which should govern not only the relations between nations but also between individuals.

Human Rights

6. In our endeavours to create a better international climate and to further understanding between the nations, we should never forget that nations consist of human beings and that human beings first and foremost bear the brunt of the clashes, the strife and discord between nations. Conversely, there will be no real basis for a stable peace and security as long as fundamental rights and freedom of men, women and children are totally disregarded. The universal declaration of human rights of 1948 says: 'Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of the freedom, justice and peace in the world.'

7. The realisation of the respect for the individual and his rights all over the world is and will remain one of the principal tasks of this organisation. That means tolerance, justice and the right to live together in this world.

8. The Kingdom of the Netherlands throughout the ages has tried to build a society based on tolerance. As a result, our foreign policy is very much oriented towards the protection of the individual and his rights. This outlook has also inspired our development policy with particular stress on the need of the poorest members of the international community.

9. The events which have occurred since the autumn of 1979 have affected many human lives. I feel that it is essential to find adequate solutions for the needs of so many individuals affected by war, famine, disease and discrimination. In my address I would, therefore, like to focus on the effect of international controversies on the individual, and on the widespread lack of justice.

10. I intend to discuss some of the major themes which are of concern to the community of nations and which affect the lives and destiny of millions of people.

11. My friend and colleague Mr Thorn, the distinguished minister for foreign affairs of Luxembourg, has expressed the views of the nine countries of the European community on some major international problems before this general assembly. He also dwelled on the issues I just mentioned.

Afghanistan

12. Mr President, a clear violation of the rule of international relations and of the self-determination and sovereignty of a people is the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This action by a permanent member of the Security Council was condemned by the great majority of the members of this assembly when it met in special session in January of this year.

13. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been a cause of deep concern to my government and we have expressed this concern on more than one occasion. The governments of the Nine have also appealed to the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops unconditionally. On those occasions it was stressed that detente is indivisible, that developments in one region have repercussions in other regions of the world. The Nine in April and June of this year proposed as a solution and agreement between the big powers and the countries bordering on Afghanistan to respect that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to desist from interference in its affairs, stationing of troops or any form of military association with Afghanistan. Any initiative in that direction would be supported by the Nine. That is still the position, Mr President, and we hope such a solution will be pursued for the sake of the Afghan people and for the sake of world peace.

14. The effect of the intervention has been a human tragedy for the Afghan people in terms of casualties and hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighbouring countries. In view of the human suffering and of the threat to peace the Netherlands government reiterates its support of measures to restore Afghanistan's traditional status as an independent and non-aligned country to enable its people to determine its own future in freedom.

Kampuchea

15. In South-East Asia the conflict in and around Kampuchea remains unresolved. Here again a human drama continues to unfold with complete disregard for elementary human rights and freedom of the individual. The Netherlands government will continue to support the efforts to help the victims of this conflict. It is even more important to address ourselves to the causes of this conflict. The Netherlands therefore supports wholeheartedly the initiative of the ASEAN-countries to convene a conference on Kampuchea. The political problem caused by Vietnam's role in Kampuchea should be faced and solved in such a way as to allow the Kampuchean people to decide their future for themselves without outside interference and thereby to restore peace and stability in the region.

Iran & Iraq

16. We have witnessed another violation of the rule of law in international relations in the region in the taking hostage of the personnel of the American embassy in Teheran, an action that is a threat to peace as well as a violation of human rights. The Security Council has said as much in several resolutions.

17. I listened with great attention to what Secretary of State Muskie had to say on this subject and I cannot but agree with him that this tragic impasse should be resolved quickly. Once again, we solemnly appeal to the Islamic Republic of Iran to release the hostages and thus put an end to their suffering.

18. The recent outbreak of hostilities between Iran and Iraq is a reason for grave concern to my country. From this rostrum I make an urgent appeal to both parties, to observe the utmost restraint and to solve their dispute by peaceful means.

Southern Africa

19. Mr President, the ending of the war in southern Rhodesia and the emergence of the sovereign state of Zimbabwe have removed a major source of tension in southern Africa. It is evident, however, that other sources of tension in southern Africa remain, notably the issue of apartheid and the question of Namibia.

20. The developments in Zimbabwe have given hope to many throughout southern Africa. Positive changes which occur in the neighbourhood of South Africa and which satisfy aspirations for human dignity and stability cannot fail to make themselves felt in South Africa itself. They will thus promote increasingly effective pressure from within.

21. Conscious of the impact of economic and social development in a number of countries in southern Africa on political progress in Namibia and South Africa, the government of the Netherlands has decided to set up a special aid programme for southern Africa. In this way we wish to make a contribution to the important political initiative of the nine O.A.U. member states in southern Africa aimed at achieving economic independence from South Africa and cooperation among each other. We will avail ourselves of this general assembly to give an impulse toward this goal. We urge many countries to do the same and we think that this assembly should address itself to this issue.

22. Effective outside pressure on South Africa should be stepped up as much as possible. A policy of discrimination can never be made acceptable to those who are being discriminated, nor to the international community as a whole. We make an urgent plea to the South African government to face the inescapable truth that the apartheid policy will come to an end. In its own efforts to attain this goal, the Netherlands government is in the process of sounding out friendly countries on any possible concerted efforts, including economic measures, to bring about a change in South Africa which will bring to this part of the world the dignity that mankind deserves.

23. My government will continue to support the secretary-general, the group of five western states and the frontline states in their efforts to implement the settlement proposal for Namibia, approved by the Security Council. Outstanding issues have been clarified and we are confident that the greatest possible impartiality in implementing Security Council resolution 435 can now be achieved. Therefore South Africa should without any further delay be prepared to start implementation of the settlement plan in coordination with the United Nations.

Middle East

24. Concerning the Middle East, Mr President, Mr Thorn, speaking on behalf of the Nine, has already elaborated on this issue. I too, wish to stress that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement can only be based on the rule of law and respect of the individual. The Nine countries of the European community expressed this in their meeting in Venice, notably emphasising two principles.

These two principles:

- the right to existence and to security of all states in the region including Israel; and
- justice for all peoples which implies recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people; should now be brought into practice.

25. At this stage I do not wish to prelude the results of the current process of consultations and deliberations. What I can say, however, is that the Netherlands adopt a positive approach to any activity which will lead to a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement.

26. Coming now to the situation in Lebanon, the Netherlands government takes a particular interest in what happens in that strife-torn country. We attach great importance to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon including the reinstatement of the sovereignty of the Lebanese government over its entire territory. I mentioned the territorial integrity of Lebanon since it constitutes a prerequisite for stability in Middle East. [as published]

27. Mr President, a battalion of Dutch soldiers in the service of the U.N. is involved in the peacekeeping activities of Unifil in southern Lebanon. We deeply regret all sorts of obstacles preventing Unifil from carrying out its task entrusted to it by the Security Council. From this rostrum, Mr President, I call upon all parties concerned to enable the Unifil contingent to fulfill in safety its difficult and important mandate.

Latin America

28. It is true that in certain countries the human rights situation has improved, but from other corners of the world we hear of serious situations and new waves of repression. Bolivia, Mr President, is a case in point. The process leading to a return to democracy has been interrupted in that country and regressive measures, often of a violent nature, are being taken.

29. This development is the more regrettable because of the growing cooperation between the countries belonging to the Andes pact and the European community. At this place I want to reiterate our wish to intensify relations between the European community and the democracies in Latin America.

10. Mr President, for many years my government has, together with others, strongly advocated the return to democracy and the respect for human rights in Chile. However, we cannot consider the recent referendum on the new constitution in Chile as a step forward. In our view this constitution is not likely to warrant a speedy return to Chile's traditional form of government.

11. The Kingdom of the Netherlands, part of which is situated in the Caribbean, is understandably concerned about the recent controversies in that region and in Central America. We think that a climate of stability and cooperation is of the utmost importance if true progress and development are to be realised.

East-West Relations

12. Mr President, the international situation has worsened rather than improved in the past year. The conflicts I have mentioned all lead to greater suffering. They also lead to greater demands on resources, which could be used for development and for the improvement of the deteriorated economic situation. They certainly lead to less security and peace for mankind. My government's policy remains directed at the attainment of peace, security and the lessening of international tensions. This presupposes the creation of a climate of trust in which the ground rules underlying the relations between nations and individuals are respected.

13. East-West relations are under stress as a result of developments in south-west and south-east Asia. They are also affected by the continued Soviet military build-up.

14. We hope that the follow-up meeting of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe to be held in Madrid in November of this year, will contribute to the lessening of East-West tensions. The final act of Helsinki is a code of conduct, a set of ground rules for multilateral and bilateral relations between states as well as between states and private citizens.

15. In Madrid a frank and business-like discussion should take place on the full implementation of the final act. As such, we believe, it will be a necessity to discuss negative developments such as those in the human rights sphere. Only in this spirit can the aim of the conference be realised.

16. Confidence-building and other measures should be agreed upon in the interest of peace, security and stability in the world. My government will endeavour to come to meaningful confidence-building measures for the whole of Europe which should go beyond mere declarations of intent. The growing tensions in the world compel us to pay special attention to effective measures aimed at disarmament and arms control and the curtailing of arms traffic.

Nuclear Arms

37. Disarmament matters are discussed in various I 'ns. However, inspiration is often lacking in those deliberations.

38. Nuclear arms issues, Mr President, are taking a prominent place in those discussions. A comprehensive test ban treaty would be both desirable in itself and provide us with an important psychological stimulus to nuclear disarmament. It would also strengthen the non-proliferation regime.

39. A growing number of nuclear powers would inescapably lead to nuclear chaos. We therefore regret that the non-proliferation discussion has developed overtones of a north-south controversy, whereas it concerns the security and survival of all of us. The recent review conference on the non-proliferation treaty has unfortunately failed to reach consensus.

40. We should not close our eyes to the possible serious repercussions of this setback. Broad political support remains the basis for a viable non-proliferation regime. A worldwide meeting of the minds on this vital issue is essential.

41. In this context we have noted with appreciation the intention of the United States government to move forward after the presidential election as speedily as possible toward the ratification of the Salt II treaty.

42. The excruciating problem of nuclear armament and nuclear disarmament tends to overshadow all other problems. However, Mr President, let us not forget that armed conflicts in various parts of the world are waged at this very moment with conventional weapons that maim and kill, be it on a smaller scale. I hope the decisions to be taken by the disarmament commission on this problem will lead to at least the start of a serious discussion on conventional disarmament measures within the United Nations.

43. Just to underline the great importance the Netherlands attach to disarmament and arms control, I would like to mention in passing that this week has been proclaimed 'peace week' in my country.

North-South Dialogue

44. Mr President, next week my colleague, the minister for development cooperation, will address the second committee. On that occasion Mr De Koning will explain in detail my government's views on the present stage of the north-south dialogue. However, as the conclusions of the 11th special session of the General Assembly are still fresh in our minds, I feel bound to say that it is our sincere desire that this session adopts the international development strategy in view of its implementation at the beginning of next year.

45. Mr President, my government shares the widespread disappointment that no final agreement could be reached on a procedural framework for the new round of global negotiations. I strongly appeal to those governments which, at the closure of the special session were not able to join in the consensus, to make every effort to overcome the present difficulties during this session.

Sexual Equality

46. Mr President, in furthering the advancement of human rights, I want to underline the importance of attaining equality between women and men. The idea to convene a conference at Copenhagen this summer midway in the decade for women, was a good initiative. It was therefore regrettable that the work of the conference was thwarted by extraneous political questions which had very little bearing on the subject under discussion. Unfortunately, I feel compelled to express my regret that such events have affected other discussions in the U.N. as well.

47. The Netherlands delegation was unable to support the action programme of Copenhagen as such. Nevertheless, the Kingdom of the Netherlands stands ready to continue within the U.N. and in the framework of the decade to work for the advancement of the position of women. Fortunately, important achievements of the decade such as the conclusion of a treaty for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, the functioning of the voluntary fund for the decade for women, the plan of action of Mexico and the great number of positive clauses in the Copenhagen programme of action have been reached. These achievements have prompted my government to continue to work for the further broadening and deepening of U.N. policy for women's equality, in particular in the field of multilateral development cooperation.

48. My country also attaches great importance to the legislative process concerning the promotion of human rights within this organisation. I would appeal to all who participate in that process to speed up the work on a declaration on the elimination of religious intolerance, on a convention on the prohibition of torture, and on a declaration on the rights of noncitizens. The adoption of this latter declaration is on this assembly's agenda. It is our wish that at some time in the future the implementation of all human rights instruments will be monitored by a high commissioner for human rights, an institution we will continue to promote.

Disasters

49. Mr President, in his report on the work of the organisation the secretary-general has once again with clarity and precision presented to us a concise picture of the political and economic situation of the world today. The picture is not bright. I wish to pay special attention to the plight of millions of people suffering from disease and starvation who are forced to leave their homesteads. I shall quote from the secretary general's report where it says:

'political and military conflicts and upheavals invariably engender human suffering, which on occasion reaches disaster proportions,... Problems of refugees and displaced persons as well as demands for relief and rehabilitation on a massive scale exist in Africa and Asia,... Considerable strain is imposed on the fragile economies of countries that receive large numbers of refugees, and they naturally expect the international community to share the burden they carry. In addition international assistance is required to deal with the ravages of drought and famine which have spread from the Sahelian countries to many other countries in Africa, leaving in their wake starvation and social disruption.'

50. The international community has a responsibility to avoid these calamities. We were encouraged by the secretary-general's positive reaction to the initiative taken in Econom last summer, for a review of the emergency operations of the United Nations system.

51. A number of years ago my country made a proposal to raise the capacity of the U.N. system in coping with man-made disaster situations. It is my government's sincere wish that when the secretary-general presents his review, we once more seriously consider how to cope with them. The only road that may lead to success in this respect is a close continuous and institutionalised cooperation between nations and the U.N. system as well as within the U.N. system itself, for providing on the shortest possible notice the assistance required for any given specific calamity.

United Nations

52. Mr President, the founders of the U.N. drew up a construction that to this day, we believe, has kept its basic validity. It has built-in checks and balances between the various groups of members. Its size and composition make it an instrument for deep discussions and well-considered decisions. In the present circumstances any proposal for drastic change may upset the present checks and balances and make the instrument at our disposal less rather than more effective. Of course, the present machinery should, in certain instances, be improved. The strengthening of the organisation coping with calamities is a case in point. I would also like to see more support given to the peace-keeping activities of the organisation. We believe that more use could be made of valuable instruments that are already at our disposal. For instance, more frequent recourse to one of the main organs of this organisation, the International Court of Justice and even more important, abidance by its decisions, would be conducive to the settlement of conflicts between nations.

53. Mr President, in a world in which political and economic tensions seem to grow rather than diminish, the demand for a more peaceful world with a chance for every citizen of every country to lead a decent life becomes more imperative.

54. In this ever more interlocking and interdependent world, we must come to grips with the economic and social problems and provide peace and security for all and everyone.

Thank you, Mr President."

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INDUSTRY COUNCIL REPORTS INVESTMENT INCREASING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 2 Sep 80 p 33

[Article: "Two Types Of Companies Decide Sweden's Economic Future"]

[Text] Sweden must save. According to the administration's suggestion, state expenditures must be cut by 7 billion kroner. The deficit in foreign trade must be reduced. Imports must be decreased and exports increased. Therefore the administration's policy is to aim towards the Swedish industry becoming more effective, both on the domestic and foreign markets. Along with the savings plan, investments in the industries must be greatly increased. It is important for Sweden's economy that more companies follow the favorable drift and venture into investments; and that fewer reach the brink of ruin.

How do companies reason before they invest? DAGENS NYHETER has visited two companies that are doing well and are involved in substantial investing.

We Invest Ourselves Out of The Crisis

Substantial investing is taking place within the industries at the present time. In the beginning of the year, the Federation of Swedish Industries (SI) expected a 15 percent increase for the year, compared with 1979, which was a bad year for investing. Today, SI expects a 20 percent increase, or 18.6 billion kroner in increased investments. A figure others consider too low. Instead they think the increase will end up closer to 30 percent.

The country's entrepreneurs offer confidence in the future and especially the small businessmen who are responsible for a great deal of the increase. Geographically speaking, West Sweden seems to invest the most. Many investments are connected with Norwegian oil extractions.

Both members of industry and trade unions now feel that it is important to maintain the rate of investments. The prognosis for 1981 indicates that the increase will be 5 percent.

All investing, independent of type, concerns the future of the company. Without investments, the company has little possibilities for staying on the market. If a country has companies with a low investment rate, the prospects for the country's economic survival are gloomy.

--No profits are created without investing, only losses are created resulting from unemployment, says Ole Virin of SI.

Mostly Machines

Investment can either be made in machines or new construction. What the company obviously favors most is investing in new machines. The machines draw neither salaries nor social fees. The main incentive of the company is profit; wage costs and production costs are constantly overlooked.

Especially from the professional side, the point is made of keeping the machine investment and the building investment apart.

--Great investments do not always mean that the situation on the employment market improves, says Dan Andersson, economist for the Union of Metal Workers. If most of the investments are in machines, no new jobs are created.

How, then, does the investment rate look for the year 1980?

Already in January of this year SI noticed a strong increase. Earlier this year it was believed it would be 15 percent, but now the increase is estimated to be 20 percent. This evaluation is based on interviews with the nation's entrepreneurs regarding their investment plans.

--This increase amounts to 18.6 billion kroner, says Virin of SI.

But the increase is not yet on the same level as 1975.

If the index for investments in 1970 was 100, the figure for this year will be 95, according to SI. In 1975 the index figure was 135 and the investment increase 14 billion kroner in that year's currency value. Between 1975 and 1979 the investments dropped substantially.

For Balance

--It is important that the investment increase continue for some years, says Virin. Especially in order for Sweden to gain balance in foreign trade.

The Economic Council estimates that this year's deficit in foreign trade will be 10 billion kroner.

This year's rate of increase must be kept up for at least 5 more years, says Virin. Otherwise we will not obtain balance. The prognosis for 1981 is an increase of 5 percent.

Many economists think that Sweden's import of consumer goods--readymade goods--should be reduced. Today, it constitutes one-third of the total imports. If investments were to be increased within this sector, balance of foreign trade would improve.

--The most substantial investing, however, takes place in the provisions industry, machine industry and the pulp-and-paper industry, says Virin.

"Too Low"

Many critics think that SI estimate is too low. They think that the investment increase will be even higher than 20 percent this year.

Kjell Olsson of the Swedish Association of House Builders--the trade organization of the construction companies--believes that the increase will be close to 30 percent this year.

--The number of houses under construction is 40 percent higher this year than last year, says Olsson. That means that investments are quite strong.

The Economic Council is pleased with the increase, but points out that it is of little value if this development does not continue for the years to come.

--An increase between 5 and 10 percent per year for 5 years would be excellent, says Sune Davidsson, adviser to the Economic Council. Davidsson thinks it necessary to create a favorable investment climate in the country. That can be done in many ways.

--The companies must be competitive. Wages must therefore be kept at a reasonable level, thinks Davidsson.

Davidsson also thinks that it ought to be more profitable to buy shares. If the number of shareholders is increased, the company receives more capital for investing.

--The small investor otherwise invests in art, antiques and jewelry, says Davidsson.

"Funds Are Better"

The Federation of Metal Workers and the labor movement have another opinion of how the investment rate should be maintained. Wage earners funds give employees increased influence in the company by depositing part of the wages in a fund; a fund that at the same time can be used for investing.

Dan Andersson, economist for the Federation of Metal Workers, also shares the opinion that the investment increase could be considerably higher since the industry is now sitting on a large amount of money. Instead of investing in higher production, the money is put in secure investments, such as real estate.

--The authorities must also look at the corporate taxation. It must not be such that there are greater risks associated with investing in a manufacturing company than in a trading company, such as Hennes & Mauritz, which sell imported goods.

--The manufacturing companies must in some way be favored when compared with the trading companies. Otherwise, most entrepreneurs will rather invest in trading companies which offer fewer job openings than workshop companies, says Andersson.

The commercial banks have not noticed this strong investment increase.

--Investing is mostly done with money the companies themselves own, says Hans Bergstrom of the S-E bank's department of corporate relations.

--Geographically, West Sweden is responsible for the greatest influx of applications. It seems that the dynamics of the economy are there, says Bergstrom.

Small Companies

The State Investment Bank has, however, noticed the increase.

--There are unusually many small companies that have filed applications, says Lars-Olof Gustavsson.

The cooperation the Investment Bank has with the 24 regional development funds plays a role here. It is easier for the small company to arrange a loan through the regional fund than to go to Stockholm and ask for money.

--This also supports the view that the large companies are taking the money from their own funds to invest, says Gustavsson.

The Investment Bank has also noticed that many of the investments are connected with projects in the North Sea.

We have many applications where the company needs the money to build drilling platforms, dwelling platforms and service vehicles in connection with oil extraction, says Gustavsson.

[Captions to Graphics]

Company Following The Favorable Drift

- Small business owner earning good money
- Invests the profit within the furniture industry
- Develops own inventions
- Starts manufacturing in a new company
- The new furniture goes on the international market

- Demand much greater than production
- A great part of the profit invested in new projects
- The ambition is to always be ahead of the competitors

Company On The Brink Of Ruin

- One of Sweden's most profitable companies
- Sold adding machines all over the world
- The director was busy outside the company
- Cut-throat competition from calculators
- Profit reduced--ruin impending
- Cutback and reduced personnel
- Choice of bankruptcy or sale
- The company bought up by Swedish company

Investing is the key to the company's possibility of surviving and flourishing. If a part of the profit is invested in new salable products and greater production, the company soon will follow the favorable drift. Without investing, the company sooner or later lands on the brink of ruin.

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SAAB-SCANIA HOPES FAIRCHILD DEAL ONLY START OF EXPORTS

Civilian Airplanes

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Sep 80 p 31

[Article by Bjorn Lindahl: "After 25 Years: Swedish Civilian Planes"]

[Text] Saab-Scania is involved in advanced talks with three airplane companies about sales of twenty civilian airplanes. The order being discussed amounts to 300 million kroner and is the first breakthrough for Saab in civilian airplane production.

This was disclosed at the International Air Show in Farnborough, England. The airplane companies Saab is negotiating with, is the Swiss Crossair, which wants to buy five planes and requests an option to buy five more; the Swedish Swedair, which wants to buy five-seven planes, and the Australian Stillwell Aviation, which wants to buy 12 planes.

The talks have advanced most with the Swiss company. 17 October has been decided as the date to sign the contract.

--We look at this as very positive and big step forward in our strive to obtain 50 percent ratio between civilian and military production. This is the first civilian airplane order we have received in 25 years, says Hans G. Andersson, information director for Saab's air division.

These airplane negotiations apply to Saab-Scania's and the American Fairchild's airplane production combined development project, Saab-Fairchild 340.

The figure derives from the fact that the airplane holds 34 passengers. It has two turboprop engines and a range of 1,300 km.

Half Manufactured In Sweden

The production will be equally divided between Sweden and the U.S., but 75 percent of the development will take place in Linkoping. The new

airplane will give 500 persons employment in Linköping workshops and 400 technicians will be employed during the most intensive development period. The first plane will presumably be ready in 1984.

The fact that the half state owned Swedair is participating at such an early stage and is negotiating the purchase of an airplane, means that Saab-Scania can get a demonstration partnership in close vicinity and get quick reactions to the changes which might be needed when the airplane will become operational.

--Our intention is to put this plane in the system inbetween SAS's and Linjeflyg's network and thereby replace the unpopular Twin-8, says Olle Hedberg, VD of Swedair.

In order for the manufacturing of Saab-Fairchild to be profitable, a pre-sale of approximately 200 planes is necessary. The result the American Fairchild presale organization has obtained has not yet been published. Half of the market for civilian airplanes of this size is estimated to be in the U.S. Saab and Fairchild expect to see 50 planes a year once the production is in full swing.

The greatest advantage of Saab-Fairchild 340 is its low fuel usage. According to Saab's estimation, it is 25 percent below the closest competitors, the American Dash 8 and the Brazilian Brasília.

St Scandia

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Sep 80 p 11

[Text] When Saab now receives its first order for civilian airplanes, it will be 30 years since the company abandoned one of its most promising projects--the passenger plane Scandia--in order to invest everything in the warplane J29, the so-called flying barrel.

A total of 17 million kroner was invested in Scandia and the airplane was introduced on the market all over the world. Scandia was, however, besieged by bad luck from the beginning--when the production was begun in 1945, the great metal strike broke out. Soon the political climate became inclement and the Defense Force pressed hard for establishing military production. Only 18 models of Scandia were built, while the Defense Force order 600 flying barrels in 1948. Since then the list of military airplanes has been long.

When it was decided to replace Viggen with a new war plane, Saab, however, had a long wait. The fighter plane B3LA, and now the most recent JAS, have been some tokens of the much discussed plane. Finally, Saab received a new order from the politicians--change over to civilian production.

On Saab's part the long decision process has resulted in the military production not being as attractive as before. Before the end of 1980 the

production of civilian and military airplanes will be equal. The year before, the military presale of airplanes was 83 percent.

JAS Syndication

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Sep 80 p 31

[Text] The airplane manufactureres in Sweden have now formed the industrial group JAS for a combined production of the new fighter plane JAS which will replace Viggen.

Saab-Scania, Volvo Airplane Engine, L M Ericsson and SRA Communication are a part of the group, which is lead by a project management with Sten Gustafsson of Saab-Scania VD as spokesman. Management and coordination of the enterprise is conducted by an executive project management, with Harald Schroder, chief of data-Saab, earlier the aviation division, as project director. At his disposal he has project management in the respective companies. The group is the result of the airplane proposition which assumes an increased cooperation between Swedish and foreign industry.

The industries will define the project in 1981 and already by 1 June a binding offer will be made to the data division of the Defense Department. Thereafter the administration will decide whether it is economically possible to manufacture a new fighter plane in Sweden.

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RASSEMBLEMENT JURASSIEN WANTS SOLUTION TO JURA PROBLEM

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Sep 80 pp 9-10

[Article by C.W.: "Keeping the Jura Question Warm--the Rassemblement Jurassien's Demand for a Permanent Conference"]

[Text] Delémont, 14 Sep--The Jurassien people's festival in Delémont this year, which passed off in the traditional manner in other respects, was marked, on the one hand, by a certain amount of concentration on the problem of the French-speaking districts remaining in the Canton of Bern and, on the other hand, by a certain amount of official coloring. The number of people attending the 3-day event, which concludes on Sunday afternoon after the parade, was given as 60,000 again. In a resolution presented by the Rassemblement Jurassien, which organized the festival, the creation by the Federal Council of a permanent conference which would take up the "still unresolved" Jura question was demanded.

Reception by the Government

The festival, which also has been called the "festival of liberation" since the all-Jurassien plebiscite of 1974, gained new emphasis as a result of the government's participation in the official reception in the town hall Saturday evening. That event, which was financed by the Canton of Jura, was run by the representative of the state chancellor for public relations. After the representative of the municipal authorities, Jean-Pierre Bouret spoke as president of the cantonal government. He alluded to the tradition established in 1947 that the people of the Jura make their demands at this festival in the name of the common denominator of patriotism. In 1974, the will to give autonomy a trial had triumphed. On the partition of the Jura as a result of the establishment of the canton, Bouret, in the phraseology of the Rassemblement, voiced the opinion that the procedure prescribed by Bern had made it necessary for the Jura to choose between union and freedom. However, the hope that the Jura would regain its "historical dimension" in a political struggle--the government could not tolerate illegalities, but it also could not forget the part they play--also could not be quenched. Subsequently, however, the president of the cantonal government also called upon his hearers to assist, in a responsible way, in achieving a solution

of the difficulties which had resulted from the absence of well-determination during the period of prosperity.

The function of the secretary-general of the Rassemblement Jurassien, Roland Beguelin, who ordinarily occupies the center of the stage, was limited this time to enumerating the messages of greeting which had been received, including such messages from Quebec and the Walloons, as well as a letter from Michel Debre. The new president of the Rassemblement, Bernard Mertenat, particularly deplored the situation in the portion of the Jura including Bern, which had to suffer from a "sterile policy" and was being depopulated. Article 138 of the constitution of the Canton of Jura, which referred to the unity of the Jura as an objective, was an abstract concept. French-speaking Switzerland, in particular, was called upon for intensified solidarity.

White Book on the Relations between the Rassemblement Jurassien and Bern

A number of adherents, in their turn, constituted an audience which listened to the statements of Beguelin and member of the Lower Council Jean-Claude Crevoisier to DIE PRESSE, which took up practically the entire Sunday morning. The Rassemblement Jurassien is publishing its correspondence with the authorities of the two Berns since 1967 as extracts from a "White Book." What of that accumulation of documents, which allegedly includes material that has not been published up to the present, actually contains new elements which can be used in judging the negotiations remains to be determined. Beguelin attached special importance to the claim that the Federal Council, as a general principle, had always been on the side of the Canton of Bern. That was true with respect to the first phase, when it was a matter of recognizing an outside intermediary, and particularly for the decision to exclude the Jurassiens who do not live in the canton from the plebiscite process, in accordance with the generally-prevailing Swiss principle. The Rassemblement had proposed other alternatives which were permissible under the constitution again and again, and most recently it had done so shortly before the first plebiscite. When the plebiscite according to districts took place (1975), the Federal Council had refused to have apparent manipulations which had occurred in Moutier investigated. Passivity in regard to warnings that a parallel police structure was being organized by the pro-Bern faction finally made the Cortebert events possible.

Totalitarian Bern

The autonomistic member of the National Council from the Bern Jura, Jean-Claude Crevoisier, the vice president of the Rassemblement Jurassien, spoke on the theme of the festival, Bern's "totalitarian" behavior in the districts of the southern Jura where the majority were inclined toward the old canton. The rights of individuals and groups to freedom and the independence of justice and the police were no longer guaranteed. Crevoisier particularly alluded to the events of 16 March in Cortebert, where participants in a demonstration who were loyal to Bern had attempted to prevent a

meeting of the Rassemblement while the Bern police tolerated these attempts to a great extent. A veritable avalanche of denunciations had been made, and Crevaister and his Juraaisien colleague Roy had supplemented them with a complaint to the Swiss bar shortly before the festival that parliamentary immunity was being violated.

Folklore and Satire

The "coming" unity of the Jura and the bear of Bern as an always-suitable target for clever ridicule were also the main themes of the big procession through the old part of the city. With bands playing march music separating them, floats prepared by two communities in the canton and the Jura of Bern, respectively, succeeded one another in which the "witch hunt" was depicted as autonomistic teachers and ministers (with a bear in the pulpit) and the loss of Bern's seat in the Federal Council (it escaped on a toy balloon) and people like Genevieve Aubry were depicted. The crowds especially saluted communities which soon would belong to the Jura because the autonomists had achieved a majority. The portion of the parade which consisted of floats was preceded and followed by groups of riders, delegations from towns and "Diaspora" associations, and by the leading members of the Rassemblement and the government and by other officials.

No Haggling About Vellerat

After several speeches had been made, the "popular assembly" approved two resolutions. One of them was directed against the "maneuver" of separating the German-speaking town of Ederswiler from the Jura. Where that town's counterpart, the autonomistic town of Vellerat, which actually forms an enclave, is concerned, the Beliers discontinued their occupation of the building containing the school and the community center there at noon on Sunday after the demand for an immediate and unconditional turning over of that town to the Canton of Jura had been brought to their attention.

What status the permanent Conference for the Jura Problem which was demanded in the other resolution will have and what function it will be expected to perform was not specified. According to Beguelin, its composition, which is to take all interested forces--and especially not just the governmental level--into consideration, is to be debated. A first objective of this demand might consist of obtaining additional visible recognition for the Jura problem, as such. In particular, Beguelin had emphatically called upon the citizens of the new canton not to relax their efforts in the fight.

9258
CSO: 3103

LEGAL STATUS OF ACTING PRESIDENT ANALYZED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 29 Aug 80 p 2

[Analysis by Prof. Dr Nurullah Kunter, Faculty of Law, Istanbul University: "Acting President or Interim President?"]

[Text] These days, just when it seemed that the dispute on whether or not the acting president can appoint senators was at an end, a question has arisen as to whether or not new elections can be called while an acting president occupies the office of the presidency, followed by a dispute about whether or not the function of the acting president is to be a topic of debate.

At the same time it appears that the first dispute has once again been resurrected. Here we will attempt to shed light on these problems with a line of legal reasoning not encountered among those put forward until now. The basic problem is, in fact, as follows: "If a new president is not elected even though the president's term of office has expired, is the state to remain without a president?" The answer to this until now has always been no. But this result has been arrived at by means of two different lines of legal reasoning:

1. The Constitution in Paragraph 101 envisaged that the president of the senate would act for the president of the republic in case of that office falling vacant due to death, resignation, or other reason, until a new president is elected. In the case where a new president cannot be elected prior to the expiration of the term of office, there is also a vacancy in the office. In that case the office shall not remain vacant, and the president of the senate shall function as "acting president." Whether or not this acting president is like the president, whether or not he can perform every official function, these are in the nature of secondary questions which can come up once the basic problem has been resolved.

2. Yet, according to a line of legal reasoning seen being put forward these days, "expiration of the term of office" and the "office falling vacant" are separate concepts. The first is regulated by Paragraph 101, the second by Paragraph 100. Paragraph 100 deals only with vacancy in the

office. The expression "or for another reason" cannot cover the concept of expiration of term, a concept separate from vacancy in the office. In that case the former president remains in office until a successor has been elected.

We also, like everyone, favor resolving the basic problem in the form "no, the state cannot remain without a president." Since the state cannot remain without a head of state (Constitution Paragraph 97), and since the law has to find some way of resolving problems, a head of state has to be found one way or another. As a matter of fact, the constitution is not clear on how the office is to be filled should the "acting president" temporarily leave his post due to illness or departure for abroad, or if the office should fall vacant by reason of death or resignation. Yet, even as judges cannot cite a "lack of clarity in the law" as reason for failing to resolve a dispute, the office of the presidency is to be filled by means of one interpretation or another and the state is not to be left without a head. The whole problem is that these interpretations be in conformity with the system of laws. The legal norms of each state make a harmonious system known as the "system of laws." Within this systematic order contradiction between two of its norms, conflict between them, is unacceptable. Either one of these has superseded the other, meaning there is no accord, or else they are interpreted in a fashion conformable with each other, meaning that an apparent contradiction is removed.

Separate Concepts

The view that expiration of the term of office and that office falling vacant are two separate concepts, and that the function of the acting president was envisaged solely for cases of the office falling vacant, is very attractive at first glance. So much so that under its influence some have come out saying that appointments made by the acting president may be annulled. But the question of whether this interpretation conforms to the Turkish system of laws has not been dwelt upon. The election of the president of the republic for a term of seven years means that he has the authority to occupy this office only for the duration of that term, does it not? In that case, how can a person whose term has expired continue to occupy that office if the constitution has no clause clearly indicating he do so? Is not the clear giving of authority a fundamental tenet of public law? Has the constitution, in fact, not stated that "no one can make use of powers of the state not derived from the constitution"? The continuation in office of a former president if a new one cannot be elected, while it looks like a good solution to be taken up when the constitution is amended, cannot be accepted as a current interpretation, since it falls afoul of the order of laws and its system. It remains to be said that this view is also incorrect because it asserts that the office has not fallen vacant even though the term has expired. When the constitution says "he has been elected for seven years" does it add a clause saying "if a new one has not been elected"? As for the rule that two consecutive terms cannot be served, are we to suppose that it, too, was accepted with the proviso that if a new

one has not been elected he is to continue serving? From the fact that the acting presidency and the election of a new president are regulated by Paragraphs 100 and 101 of the Constitution one cannot extract the interpretation that a vacancy does not result from the expiration of the term of office. The matters regulated by these two paragraphs are not the same, so that one cannot arrive at the conclusion that what is admissible in one is not admissible in the other. In the same way, even if today we accept the principle that if an election cannot be held then the former president continues in office, the fact that this requires the amendment not of these paragraphs but of Paragraph 95, which specifies the term of office, demonstrates our point.

When One Says 'Acting President'

The view that arrives at the conclusion that the state is not to remain without a head of state, basing this on the position of the acting president, is also incorrect. The reason for this is that we have in fact neither an acting president nor an acting presidency. The dispute about whether an acting president can appoint senators stems from the use in the laws of the terms acting president and acting presidency. Here we see one example of the way in which insufficient importance is attached to the use of terminology. In both our old and our new legal system, the term acting or deputation stand for "one person deputing to another person, called a deputy, the authority to exercise the functions which he himself has the power to exercise." Yet, in the case of acting for the president or for any state official, the condition of deputation in which one person gives another person authority does not exist. One also cannot say that "if he himself does not give it, the law gives it in his place." The reason for this is that the authority given by law is of different categories and has other names. For example, it is a different thing to act as guardian or trustee, and again different to act as deputy.

That it is wrong to say "to act as deputy for the president" also becomes clear from the fact that when one translates this into a foreign language, one cannot use the equivalent of deputy in that language. In those languages the word "interim" meaning "for a specified period of time" is used. This has no exact equivalent in Turkish. "Temporary appointment" is the most suitable approximation. In that case one ought to say "interim president" in place of "acting president." To say "deputy or acting president" is also wrong because it says that that person is not the president. That person is the one occupying the office, and that means he is the president. Only he has not been elected for seven years, but has taken his authority to occupy the office in the interim from an act of legislation. At the very least he should have been called the "president-deputy." But since deputation is out of question, it is more correct to call him an "interim president."

Even Temporarily...

It is seen that here we also defend the view that the state is not left without a head of state, but by adducing a different line of legal reasoning. This reasoning is that, notwithstanding the label "acting president," there is in fact an "interim president." Since the powers of an interim president are not otherwise specified, they are those of a president empowered for seven years. While the matter has been regulated under another name in the constitution, the view that it is a "great mistake" for a president whose term has expired to not leave his office is unjustifiable. This is so even if one thinks that such a possibility did not occur to those who wrote the constitution, among whom were professors of constitutional law.

Solving the problem of calling for new elections is even easier. Calling for new elections is among the powers of the Turkish parliament. To say that "this power can be exercised only while there is a president in office for a term of seven years" is to limit this power in spite of the constitution, and this, too, goes against the Turkish system of laws.

9620

CSO: 4907

REACTIONS TO COUP REPORTED

Worldwide Reactions

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 14 Sep 80 pp 1,7

/Text/ FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE -- While foreign broadcasts and views are positive in connection with the Turkish Armed Forces' seizing complete control of the country, the first foreign comments express satisfaction that there will be no alteration of Turkey's relations with its allies. In the American New York TIMES editorial on Turkey, it was said, "Turkey is not about to be an Argentina or Iran."

The U.S. Secretary of State said that the change of administration had nothing to do with the NATO maneuvers now taking place in Turkey and, noting that the American military facilities in Turkey were operating normally, stated that he welcomed General Evren's assertion that a democratic regime would soon be restored. It is being said among diplomatic sources in London that they expected Turkish initiatives on such matters as the talks which are supposed to be held between the Greek Cypriot administration and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Greece's return to the military flank of NATO and terrorism.

France's famed journal of opinion LE MONDE said, "Washington does not seem to be opposed to the Turkish army's intervention."

According to the American AP news agency, the foreign minister of Turkey's southeastern neighbor, Iran, has avoided making any comment on the matter.

The American New York TIMES newspaper said in its report on Turkey, "Turkey is not about to be an Argentina or Iran" and expressed the following views in summary:

Politicians Blamed

"When a government is overthrown by a military coup, the military usually says that it is doing this reluctantly and that its purpose is to save the nation from chaos. However, in Turkey, the politicians had actually been dawdling hopelessly while terrorism engulfed the nation. The Turkish

Armed Forces have always shown that they prefer civilian rule. In short, Turkey is not about to be an Argentina, much less an Iran. The intervention comes as no surprise. Even Turkey's friends were expecting it. The Turkish commanders had asked the politicians to take measures against terrorism, but the nation's two major parties were neither strong enough to rule alone nor flexible enough to form a coalition. No one who believes in democracy approves of military intervention, but if the army in Turkey can help to establish a more effective political system, to facilitate Greece's return to NATO and to find a civilized solution to the Cyprus impasse, it will moderate the judgement of its behavior."

Belgian View

The first important comments in the Belgian press convey a common view that the Turkish Armed Forces took over in an effort to save a nation sinking in chaos. The Turkish Armed Forces' intervention was the lead report on the evening news on Belgium TV's French channel day before yesterday and, emphasizing that the coup was bloodless, it was said that military action had been expected. LE SOIR, Belgium's largest circulation newspaper with six editions daily, printed the story on the front page under the headline, "Army Seizes Power in Turkey to Stop Political Terrorism." In a column entitled "Politician's Attitude Suicidal" and published under the byline of Turkish expert Alford Brochard, the following views were expressed:

"It could not have gone on like this. Demirel had been in power for 7 months and did not seem strong enough to run the government. He could not stop the terrorism. He could not get the stalled economy moving or institute measures to rectify all these problems. In effect, Ecevit profited from Demirel's mistakes and refused to cooperate with his opponent. This sort of vengeance is political suicide. He drove Demirel into the arms of two smaller parties. NATO is taking the fall of the government in Turkey as an internal affair and has made no official comment. The past has shown that the West has a rather broad concept of the treaty and private reactions at NATO are sanguine as it was felt that this country was heading for disaster and it was underscored that the Turkish army always returns power to the civilians."

German Press

The German press also gave broad coverage to the change of administration in Turkey, with comment stressing that the army initiative had created no consternation in Brussels and Washington. Reports on German radio pointed out that the new administration's opposition to communism and the Soviets was important from the standpoint of NATO although the allied nations are sensitive on democracy. The newspapers also said that the Turkish Armed Forces were different from the armies of South America and that Turkey was no Chile.

In very positive comments about the army takeover in Turkey, the West German press expressed the hope that the Turkish Armed Forces would bring to an end as soon as possible the reign of anarchy in Turkey, which is one of the strongest fortresses of NATO, and that there would be a return to democratic conditions as soon as possible.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, known to reflect the views of business circles, said in an article stressing that General Kenan Evren is an enlightened democrat, "Most Turks trust him," and continued: "The basic threat to the Turks living in West Germany, as well as those in Turkey, comes from the left."

DIE WELT of the Springer chain drew attention to the Turkish army as the only thing left after the breakdown of the state and said that even though the Armed Forces had taken over, rectification of Turkey's affairs must not be expected in a day.

The independent STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTER wrote the following in its editorial: "The Armed Forces are considered the protector of the order in Turkey, and the Turkish Armed Forces' announcement that they are committed to NATO is a comforting development as regards the security of the West."

BBC Comment

British BBC radio, meanwhile, said in comments on Turkey, "The military intervention was accepted calmly in Turkey, but it will have some difficulties to overcome in order to succeed. Taking the leaders and unionists into custody is one problem. The important problem for the administration is which civilian circles to support. The economy in Turkey is known to be in critical condition. Business circles are glad the new administration is consulting Turgut Ozal in this regard. NATO is glad the army is there but also thinks it important to return to democracy as soon as possible. The military intervention was welcomed in Greece. The new administration is expected to be more accommodating toward Greece in the Cyprus and Aegean problems."

The lead article in the DAILY TELEGRAPH said, "The military takeover of the administration is a great relief for the West." It stressed "the hope that the new regime might succeed in bringing a new form of democracy to Turkey in the long run." The GUARDIAN also said that the army must keep its promises, while the DAILY MIRROR said that administration was expected to be turned over to civilians after the terrorism was stopped.

TASS Agency

The official Soviet news agency TASS said in its reports based on Turkish radio that the political party leaders had been taken into protective custody by the army, which had seized control, and that they would be released in due time. Soviet television in an evening news program showed Turkish troops and tanks patrolling the streets, while Moscow radio reported the latest developments in Turkey without comment.

The USSR Communist Party organ PRAVDA reported the Armed Forces takeover in Turkey without comment, quoting passages from the radio and TV address made by Chief of Staff and National Security Council Chairman General Kenan Evren and stressing Turkey's continued commitment to NATO and other international treaties and agreements. PRAVDA said in its report that General Evren had resolved to maintain good relations with Turkey's neighbors.

Yugoslavia

The Belgrade press reported that the army takeover in Turkey was not surprising in light of the unrest in the country.

BARBA newspaper said, "The politicians, unable to solve Turkey's basic problems, were living in a dream world."

Greek Cypriot View

The Greek Cypriot press ran a variety of editorials on the Armed Forces takeover in Turkey, while diplomatic circles announced that they welcomed this act by the army. According to the Greek Cypriot newspaper AGON published in Nicosia, many people in the Greek Cypriot sector expressed the view that there would be positive developments in regard to Cyprus following this army initiative.

According to the same newspaper, Greek Cypriot diplomatic circles also interpreted the event as bringing together elements that would lead to positive developments in Turkish-Greek relations and the Cyprus problem. Greek Cypriot diplomatic circles maintained the view that the developments in Turkey would not affect the intercommunal talks due to resume in Nicosia on Tuesday and said that they expected positive developments in Turkish-Greek and Turkish-Greek Cypriot relations.

Luxembourg TV

Europe's commercial TV network which is watched in France, Belgium, West Germany and the Netherlands, Luxembourg Television (RTL) gave its first report on the evening news bulletin with scenes of the Turkish Armed Forces military intervention, which it described as a "coup conducted without use of force." After reporting on the occurrence of the coup, the reasons for it and the Turkish army's previous interventions, RTL showed scenes of Turkey, pointing out that all was calm and the people relieved, and said, "As for the causes of a military coup in this nation in which democracy is well established, this nation has been confronted by serious internal problems for several months. These problems had created a climate of terrorism. Power in Turkey was not in a position to be seized, but merely to be plucked. And the Turkish military did it without further delay." Describing the coup as a "semi-surprise," Luxembourg TV said, "Demirel and Ecevit bear the responsibility for the political crisis. They chose to bow to the small parties where they should have been in agreement," then reported the following views: "The military coup was met with alarm in

Moscow and with relief in NATO. The Western world hopes that the democratic regime will not suffer. Lying in a key region of the world, Turkey has vital importance to NATO and plays the role of NATO's last bastion in the Near East. One can only be happy to say that the Turkish military's place in politics is temporary. After a while it will return to its basic duty, guarding the Middle East and the straits. Let us hope that no new conflict breaks out with Greece and that the duty which the NATO alliance has entrusted to the Turkish Army is not misdirected."

AFP's Comments

The French News Agency (NFP), in its comments on developments in Turkey, described General Kenan Evren's announcement that a civilian council of ministers would be formed as soon as possible and executive power turned over to this council as heartening. In the comments, there was also mention of General Evren's saying in his radio-TV address that national administration would be turned over /after/ the necessary changes were made in the constitution and the election and parties laws.

Speaking of the ramifications of the Armed Forces takeover, it was also noted in the comments that the situation in Turkey was completely calm.

Egypt Watching

Egyptian Foreign Minister Butrus Ghali said that they were watching developments in Turkey closely and with interest. In a statement to EKIM newspaper, Ghali stressed that this interest arose from the historical ties uniting the Turkish and Egyptian peoples and, noting Turkey's strategic importance to the Middle East, said that his nation was concerned about the threat to Mediterranean security if Turkey should be in crisis.

Former Parliamentarians Comment

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 14 Sep 80 p 11

[Text/ Ankara (HURRIYET) -- Spokesmen of four of the parties whose activities were halted said, "May the new administration be the best for the nation and the people." While Speaker of the dissolved National Assembly Cahit Karakas did not wish to comment, Deputy Speaker Mehmet Unaldi of the Senate, also dissolved, hoped that "the action would bring peace to the nation." NSP /National Salvation Party/ and NAP /Nationalist Action Party/ spokesmen shared the view that "the action was useful." Of these, NSP Deputy General Chairman Fehmi Cumalioglu said, "Turkes admitted his guilt by running away. The situation is clear. His hiding out shows what he had been doing." NAP Deputy General Secretary Necati Gultekin, however, said he did not know "whether Turkes would surrender."

Deputy General Chairman Fehmi Cumalioglu of the abolished NSP said, "The Turkish Armed Forces seized the administration in a gentlemanly, bloodless way" and continued as follows:

"It was well. High prices, anarchy and terrorism had taken over. The Demirel administration did not know what to do and was looking for a way out. This was expected. Somebody has to say, 'Stop it.' Such a poor excuse for an assembly will not do. I do not even know what to call an assembly so impotent that it cannot elect a president, that passes no laws and is even unable to marshal a majority."

Cumalioglu was asked, "What do you think about Turkes' running away?" He replied:

"He admits his guilt; he is guilty. The situation is clear. His hiding out shows what he had been doing."

Necati Gultekin, general secretary of the abolished NAP, said the following about Turkes' taking flight:

"I do not believe he knows about the operation; he must not have heard. We were together in the party until 2130 hours on Thursday evening. We were preparing for Friday and Saturday. If he had heard about it, we would have been informed. I do not know whether he will surrender. I cannot speak for him."

Gultekin expressed the following views on the takeover by the Turkish Armed Forces:

"We are waiting for developments calmly. We are praying for the success of the Turkish Armed Forces. Turkey is experiencing great misfortune. It is a useful operation from the standpoint of preserving the regime. God willing, they will save the regime and the country. We hope for a return to the democratic parliamentary regime as soon as possible."

Ustundag: "Our Duty is to Help"

RPP General Secretary Mustafa Ustundag said:

"I hope the action will be good for the nation. It is the national duty of all of us to help in every way possible to solidify the unity of our nation and preserve its integrity."

Mentese: "State Will Be Strong"

JP [Justice Party] General Secretary Nahit Mentese was very brief. Saying that he hoped "the action would be the best for the nation and the people," he added, "God willing, the state will be strengthened by this."

Orhan Eren: "A Fine Operation"

Former Interior Minister Orhan Eren said, "Our greatest hope had been that the Armed Forces would succeed with the implementation of martial law. Now, however, we hope even more for the success of the Armed Forces." Eren continued as follows:

"The Turkish military must certainly succeed. /as published/ is to show that /as published/ of the nation is the military. A fine action has been carried out to root out anarchy and bring peace to Turkey; may it be for the best."

Businessmen React

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 14 Sep 80 p 11

/Text/ Business circles do not believe that the army's intervention will create any negative developments in our economy and say that if the National Security Council's decisions are carried out to the letter, we may show a rate of development above the development goals for this year.

Indicating that the problems confronted by the Turkish economy in recent years had become chronic and that, despite good intentions, industry had been able to realize only 30 percent - 40 percent of capacity, business circles stated that production would rise with the ending of the strikes and that exportation would be able to show a concomitant development. Noting that preparations to enter the exporting season were being made in the agricultural sector, those concerned said that exportation would show a positive development in comparison with last year because crops were productive this year and that the \$3.6 billion goal planned for this year may well be exceeded.

For example, although Turkey had planned glass exports of approximately \$50 million in 1980, rather than exporting glass, glass had been purchased abroad because of the strikes in the glass industry, those concerned said and added, "The strikes begun months ago in various branches of industry reached an impasse and completely wiped out production. Turkey had become a nation living on its reserves. Despite the fact that our nation has an export capacity approaching \$5 billion, only \$1.267 billion in exports were realized in the first 6 months of this year." They said they strongly believed that an investment effort to revive industry could be formed after the Armed Forces intervention and thus renewed vigor would soon be seen in the economy.

Halit Narin (President, Turkish Confederation of Employer Unions)

I hope that the action which was carried out will be good for the Turkish nation. Of primary importance is the full implementation of the decisions made by the National Security Council. I do not believe that the replacement of the civilian administration with the military administration will create any adverse developments in the Turkish economy. I think that the balance in the economy which the stabilization measures taken at the first of the year were designed to ensure will be promoted. And I believe that there will be a revival of enthusiasm for investments which entrepreneurs had been shying away from recently, that industry, whose capacity was down because of widespread strikes, will return to production and that labor peace will be established.

Nuh Kusculu (President, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce)

I do not think that events surrounding the intervention of our army will create negative developments in Turkey's economic and social structure. If the decision taken are carried out to the letter, rather than a slowdown in the economy, the development goals planned earlier for this year will be exceeded. The climate enemical to investment because of anarchy and terrorism and the cycle of deadlocked collective agreements and spreading strikes have been eliminated in one stroke. I believe that production and exportation will increase with these developments and that the economy will gain a new vigor. Actually, the free world welcomes the action and believes that a healthier balance will be formed in Turkey's economic and social structure.

Other Positive Responses

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 16 Sep 80 p 10

/Text/ Meeting in Istanbul yesterday, the senates and executive boards of certain universities and academies sent telegrams to the head of state, General Kenan Evren, expressing their devotion and wishes for success to the Turkish Armed Forces.

ITU's Telegram

The Istanbul Technical University /ITU/, which welcomed the intervention of the Turkish Armed Forces as the "unavoidable, expected, wise and only remedy," said in its telegram: "We welcome the takeover of the national administration for the purpose of saving our state and our nation from the climate in which they had become powerless and our homeland from the expected calamity."

Exams Postponed

The Office of the Rector of ITU has rescheduled the examinations which could not be given on 12 September for Thursday, 2 October 1980 and has postponed the foreign language fall session examinations scheduled for 2 October 1980 to Wednesday, 8 October.

Examinations scheduled for last Friday at the Istanbul College of Applied Fine Arts were also postponed to 30 September 1980.

The Bogazici University Executive Board said in its telegram to General Kenan Evren that the university "will do its part in the realization of the goals set forth in the address made on radio and TV on 12 September 1980" and stressed that "decisions taken for the purpose of ending the anarchy, terrorism and separatism which had gone on for so long in the country and of making democracy work will be supported."

Istanbul Academy's Telegram

The Istanbul Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences Executive Board met yesterday with its chairman, Professor Dr Orhan Oguz, and decided to send the following telegram to Chief of State Kenan Evren:

"The Istanbul Academy hopes for the success of the action which you have undertaken to ensure the integrity of our nation, to prevent a civil war, to establish the lost authority of the state and restore the democratic order to health. We respectfully submit, as the Academy, that we are ready to assist in every way in the attainment as soon as possible of the goal of this action."

A telegram sent on behalf of the Istanbul State Fine Arts Academy expressed gratitude and pointed out that the academy's executive board would support "the provision of national integrity in keeping with Ataturk's principles and the safeguarding of libertarian democracy."

The Senate of the Istanbul State Academy of Engineering and Architecture, after a special meeting yesterday, sent a telegram to the National Security Council saying that it "considers the 12 September decision the beginning of a bright and happy future" and that it "sincerely supports as appropriate behavior the action to end the progression which led to terrible anxieties in the hearts of the patriotic masses by dragging the nation toward a dark end."

Aegean University

The Turkish Armed Forces' takeover was also welcomed by the Aegean University Executive Board.

A telegram sent to National Security Council Chairman General Kenan Evren on behalf of the executive board said that the action was wholeheartedly supported.

"As a constitutional institution, we wholeheartedly support the takeover of national administration by our Armed Forces in performing its duty to protect and preserve the state, the republic and democracy. We respectfully offer wishes for success to you and to our army which is the safeguard of our existence. Aegean University Executive Board."

The following is a message sent to General Evren on behalf of Diyarbakir University and signed by Assistant Rector and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine Professor Dr Nedin Cobanoglu.

"At a time when daily growing anarchy causing very great losses and a collapsing socio-economic order predominate in our Turkey, the great commanders of the Turkish Armed Forces, our present heirs of the renowned Turkish Army, without doubt the oldest and most experienced army in the world, have

undertaken with great courage and dedication an action (government take-over) to preserve the democratic order in which the Turkish nation must live as entrusted by the supreme liberator Ataturk, to destroy anarchy, to ensure full unity and togetherness and to establish a socio-economic order at the level of contemporary civilized nations. We offer them our congratulations and respect and hope for their superior success in the belief that their action will be for the good of our country and our people."

Trabzon Academy

Trabzon Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences President Professor Dr Mehmet Yazici also sent a congratulatory telegram saying, "I submit that I sincerely and fully share the entirety of your communique and commands and that they are welcomed by the members and everyone involved in the academy of which I am the head."

Koruturk's Message

Former President Fahri Koruturk said in the message he sent to National Security Council Chairman General Evren that it was his "belief that the Armed Force would certainly succeed."

Koruturk's message follows:

"I offer you my sincerest congratulations and respect in the belief that our Armed Forces, which under your leadership have taken over the protection and preservation of the country and the republic, will certainly succeed."

Yazar's Telegram

Mehmet Yazar, president of the Turkish Union of Chambers executive board, sent General Evren a telegram in which he said that he "believes the Turkish Army will succeed in the great and historic duty it has taken on."

Yazar's telegram follows:

"At this time, increasing production and exportation and bringing stability to the economy are of great importance. However, achieving these goals depends heavily on maintaining labor peace and the continuity of the stabilization measures which have been put into effect.

"I assure you that Turkish free enterprise, fully comprehending its great responsibility, is ready to do its duty in all these efforts."

Broker Cevher (Kastelli) Ozden, said in reaction to the Turkish Armed Forces' government takeover, "It was an excellent operation."

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CSO: 4907

POST-COUP TERRORIST ACTIVITY REPORT

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 18 Sep 80 pp 1, 12

/Text/ NEWS CENTER -- Zeki Yumurtaci, a leader of the THKP-C /Turkish People's Liberation Party Front/ Warriors organization who had been arrested after his escape from the Sagmalcilar Prison, was shot and killed yesterday in an armed clash between police and militants at the Avcilar Cemetery where he has been taken for reconstruction of a crime he had committed. Yumurtaci, who escaped from Sagmalcilar Prison 2 months ago and had been recaptured in Gungoren some time after the escape became known, was taken by security forces yesterday afternoon to Avcilar Cemetery, where he had killed ILSA /expansio unknown/ factory director General Mesut Oz. Yumurtaci, who according to a notebook he had kept had killed Mesut Oz and Dr Capt Cetin Ozeralp in Bakirkoy after his escape from prison, was describing the crime he had committed when three militants suddenly began firing from among the trees. The THKP-C leader was seriously wounded in the opening burst of fire. Following the ensuing clash when police returned their fire, the three militants escaped in a Murat automobile. The badly wounded Yumurtaci was taken to the hospital, where he died.

Chief Superintendent Killed

A chief superintendent of police was killed and his policewoman wife was injured yesterday in the crossfire of two militants as they left their home together and got into their car in Istanbul.

According to information obtained from the authorities, Sariyer Deputy Superintendent of Security, Chief Superintendent Aykut Genc, and his policewoman wife of 4 months, Rana Genc, left their home in Sisli together and as they were getting into their car which was parked in front of the house, they were caught in a volley of gunfire from two persons. The chief superintendent died and his wife was seriously injured.

It was determined as a result of the investigation following the incident that one of the two suspects was Alaaddin Aycicek, a member of an illegal organization named "THKP-C Sympathizers."

Elsewhere, a jewelry store owned by Yakup Sabri Aras in Ferikoy was robbed by three armed persons around 1100 hours yesterday. The thieves escaped with gold and jewelry worth approximately 5 million liras.

Armed persons entered a home in Kocasinan, threatened the people in the house and escaped with gold and jewelry worth 300,000 liras. Investigation of the incidents is in progress, it was reported.

A pirate radio station belonging to the illegal TKP-ML, TIKKO /Turkish Communist Party-Marxist-Leninist, Turkish Worker Peasant Liberation Army/ and intended to interrupt Turkish Radio and TV Administration broadcasts with pirate broadcasts was uncovered. It was learned that in a raid on a cell of the organization, an organization militant was arrested, a Technical University student whose name was withheld by police who had been working for 2 years on the radio station, which was uncovered just as it was to begin test broadcasts.

Night before last, seven militants from the illegal Revolutionary Road were arrested by security forces in Zeytinburnu for writing leftist slogans on the walls. Two pistols, a large quantity of ammunition, banned leftist publications, paint and brushes were confiscated from them.

In this connection, sanitation workers guarded by security forces cleaned the walls along the streets and avenues in Istanbul of slogans written earlier.

In Siverek

According to information given by VII Corps and the Martial Law Command for Diyarbakir, Urfa, Mardin, Siirt, Hakkari and Van Provinces, an operation was conducted at around 1900 hours day before yesterday in Karacoren Village in Siverek District. Of the terrorists who engaged in a clash with security forces during the operation, one was killed, two were seriously wounded and three were arrested unhurt.

Apprehended along with the terrorists were 1 G-1, 1 G-3 and 3 Kalashnikov rifles and one 14 pistol, plus 400 shells.

558 Arrested

In operations conducted in the past 5 days in the region of responsibility of the Erzurum-Kars-Agri-Artvin Provinces Martial Law Command, 558 persons were arrested for anarchy, terrorism and separatist activities. Seized in this connection were 7 long-range weapons, 78 pistols, 28 hunting rifles and a large quantity of ammunition. Operations in the region reportedly will continue.

Meanwhile, it was reported that the examinations which were supposed to be held on 12 September at Kazim Karabekir training institute will be given on 20 September.

Ayhan Cansiz and Serdar Soyugun, two of three terrorist who ambushed and killed area officer Tank Captain Bulent Angin, who had gone with security personnel to the site of a clash between two leftist factions in Kurukopru on Sunday, 14 September, will be tried in Martial Law Court No 1 tomorrow, the trial to be open to the press, it was announced.

Attempts are in progress to apprehend Suleyman Aydemir, also involved in the killing of Bulent Angin, it was learned.

In Aydin

Three persons were arrested by security forces for writing leftist slogans on the walls in Aydin and the districts.

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'CUMHURİYET' DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SIDE OF COUP

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 18 Sep 80 pp 1,5

[Article in the column "Facts Behind the Events"]

/Text/ It is a fact recognized and voiced by everyone that Turkey is going through the greatest crisis in the history of the Republic. In order to overcome the economic difficulties we are experiencing, the conditions of the IMF agreement are being applied within the framework of the 24 January decisions on the one hand, while, on the other, aid funds are being supplied to Turkey and measures are being taken to ensure the steady flow of necessary credit within the OECD framework. Nevertheless, the economic program which has been in effect since 24 January is limping. How are the problems of declining production and market depression to be resolved? Head of State and National Security Council Chairman General Kenan Evren was asked the following question at a press conference on this matter:

Question: The economic stabilization program being applied has certain defects such as rising inflation and declining production. Will you apply the program to the letter? Or will the malfunctioning aspects be reviewed?

The esteemed General Kenan Evren gave the following answer to this question:

"A program has been devised and put into effect. Efforts will be made to eliminate the minor obstacles that crop up along the way. But as long as we run into no major obstacle, no brick wall, we will not abandon this economic program and if there are malfunctioning aspects of the measures, we will do everything we can to eliminate them."

We wonder if the new administration will run into a "large obstacle" or "wall." At present, it does not seem likely. Turkey belongs to the political, military and economic organizations of the Western world. The voices coming so far from such organizations as the EC, NATO, OECD and the Council of Europe are telling Turkey that the credit mechanisms applied both through OECD channels and within the scope of the IMF will work.

As for the domestically-oriented parts of the economic program, the tax measures which need to be taken are on the agenda. It has been known for a long time that Turkey's tax system personifies social injustice and is wide open to tax evasion. The tax-related part of the 24 January package will go into effect soon. Reports from Ankara indicate that changes will be made in income and corporation taxes with taxation rates to be adjusted according to the new situations and it is understood that the agricultural sector will be taxed, a subject which has been debated for many years. The process of uninterrupted application of the 24 January decisions will be completed. The Western credit system has a chance to work when the IMF's conditions are stringently adhered to. At present, there is no sign of a change on the economic agenda for the period ahead. Time will measure the success of this economic program. The crisis will be over when production rises, the stagnation in the economy is eliminated and inflation is stopped. If the program now in effect cannot succeed in these areas, then new measures "to eliminate the malfunctioning aspects of the measures which have been taken" may be on the agenda.

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NATURE OF NEW CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Sep 80 pp 145, 148

[Interview with Turkish constitution expert Aydin Yalcin: "'Like in the Weimar Republic'"]

[Text] The military has a firm grip on Turkey, and most Turks have reacted to its coup with relief. The liberal politician Prof Aydin Yalcin, 59, a former leader of the Justice Party in parliament, has already drafted concrete proposals for a constitutional reform planned by the generals which is to turn Turkey into a stable democracy.

SPIEGEL: For the third time in 20 years, Professor, the army has assumed power in a democratically governed Turkey. Why are the Turks having such a hard time with democracy?

Yalcin: To start with: Turkey has had more experience with democracy than Germany. The army intervened in our country in order to save democracy.

SPIEGEL: Is it necessary to expunge one evil with another? Can democracy really be saved only by undemocratic means?

Yalcin: The Turkish army is not one of coup-obsessed and power-hungry colonels such as exist in other countries who pursue undemocratic aims--in other words, want to abolish democracy. Our armed forces are made of different stuff.

SPIEGEL: What is it that is unique about the Turkish army?

Yalcin: Our army is a national institution which goes into action in an emergency, when the government fails to function. The army, so to speak, takes the nation into intensive care until it recovers.

SPIEGEL: And the place for this intensive care has to be the barracks? Who in fact empowers the generals to remove the government and dissolve parliament?

Yalcin: Our constitution entitles the army to intervene if the nation is threatened. You too must have noticed how much the overwhelming majority of the population has welcomed the army action. Political terror, murder and manslaughter, governmental impotence and chaos had become intolerable. It had got to the point where out of fear of bloody revenge no Turk dared any longer to make use of his right freely to express his opinion. At least as bad was the paralysis of the administration and the inability of the politicians to bring about an improvement.

SPIEGEL: And now the soldiers are to be ready with a miracle cure?

Yalcin: General Evren...

SPIEGEL: ...who had himself proclaimed president...

Yalcin: ...right, but only after the people's representatives paid by the taxpayer in 120 ballots had failed to agree on a head of state. I have no doubt but that Evren wants to remedy the faults of our democracy.

SPIEGEL: you yourself in fact had already drafted a whole list of proposals on how the constitution should be amended...

Yalcin: I hope General Evren will resort to my proposals. I also figure on participating in the discussions of the planned constituent assembly. After all, what is at stake is the only serious attempt to adapt our political structures to the new needs.

SPIEGEL: Or to the wishes of the generals?

Yalcin: The amendment of the constitution I am talking about has been prepared by me, together with scholars and specialists in public law, for months.

SPIEGEL: Socialist party head Ecevit charges that you want to concentrate too much power in the hands of the executive.

Yalcin: Our previous system has favored the creation of splinter parties. Together with the centrifugal political forces they conjured up a situation which could best be compared to the paralysis of the Weimar Republic.

In such a situation the state needs a president who is more than a figure-head, who for instance can also dissolve parliament and order plebiscites when questions affecting the existence of the nation are at stake.

SPIEGEL: In other words, a presidential republic such as in the United States?

Yalcin: No, more like the one in France. I think the president should not appoint the government ministers either.

SPIEGEL: What would you accomplish by this?

Yalcin: By itself it is not enough. If we want to make government and parliament capable of action, the splinter parties have to disappear; we have to get a new electoral law.

SPIEGEL: Do you have in mind a quota, a high minimum percentage of the vote which either opens or bars the gates of parliament to a party?

Yalcin: That is the kind of democratic hurdle which you erected in the Federal Republic. We have in mind a two-tier electoral system. In the first round the party which attains at least 51 percent of the vote is the winner, and in such an election district the election is then over. If no party gets 51 percent, there is a second round to choose between the two strongest individual parties.

SPIEGEL: This reduces the future number of leftwing and rightwing parties which are making it difficult for the country's two big parties to govern. But is this not a restriction of the pluralist principle?

Yalcin: Not at all. The expression of the people's desire remains guaranteed, and parliament's ability to operate is insured at the same time. Besides, the parties which would be affected by the new party law are crucibles of extremists threatening our democracy.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean the religious extremist Erbakan, who has sued you for slander?

Yalcin: I mean all those who want to fight our democracy, who incite the people, who abuse the democratic freedom of action. Mr Erbakan, incidentally, will hardly have the opportunity to take me to court. He will himself have to answer before a court for the series of crimes he has committed.

SPIEGEL: So, in effect, you want to introduce a two-party system. Ecevit and Demirel, the chairmen of the two biggest Turkish parties, will then determine your country's political life in the future...

Yalcin: Maybe, maybe not. The parties will first rid themselves of corruption.

SPIEGEL: In addition you also want a kind of code of honor?

Yalcin: Demirel, who is an opportunist...

SPIEGEL: It stands to reason that you are an enemy of Demirel's. He expelled you from his conservative Justice Party.

Yalcin: Please! It is common knowledge that Demirel has not accomplished anything. I was completely justified to demand an internal party

investigation of his cronies suspected of corruption. As far as I am concerned, it is a matter of principle. Both Demirel and Ecevit expelled any politicians from their parties for whom they did not care for some flimsy reason.

SPIEGEL: How do you intend to change that in the future?

Yalcin: By a party law which gives every party member the right in case of suspicion to demand an investigation as to clean political behavior.

SPIEGEL: What is to happen to the Constitutional Court?

Yalcin: In the future it should only have a consultative capacity, for the last Constitutional Court was an obstacle in the way of democracy. Ecevit was compelled by the power-possessed justices to release all political terrorists. Demirel was not allowed to see that his electoral law was passed. And the Senate too would have to shed some of its responsibilities. A consultative function along the lines of the British House of Lords would be sufficient.

SPIEGEL: Do you think that these constitutional changes will help fight terrorism?

Yalcin: Well, after a while one group or another is bound to throw bombs again.

SPIEGEL: The biggest Marxist student organization, Dev-Sol, has stated that it intends to strike with particular force.

Yalcin: Yes, unfortunately. If we had had the constitution we have discussed, terrorism would never have become so excessive.

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CSO: 4907

DEMIREL COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT'S STATUS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 25 Aug 80 pp 1,9

[Text] In a press conference given at the Cinar Hotel following the laying of a corner stone for a 50,000 person sea-side resort which is to be built at Buyukcekmece, Demirel presented some information regarding several of the country's problems and the government's achievements. Prime Minister Demirel, in answer to a question, said, "If we were to abandon our duty, Turkey, in a matter of two months, would return to the state it was in during November 1979. Our fellow citizens would ask us where we were going and to whom we were handing over the country."

At the press conference the prime minister said that the country was in the need of service, but that stability was needed to make that service effective. Without stability, he stated, all efforts at investment and economic recovery were blocked and consequently the country was beset with the curse of inflation. Demirel said that despite all of this they had brought Turkey along the road to affluence, and he continued as follows: "In a changing world Turkey is also changing. Desires and expectations are expanding. The yearning for a civilized existence is spreading throughout every corner of the land. This phenomenon is inexorable. A solution to the problem of inflation will surely be found. The measures we have taken are painful, but they have produced gratifying results."

The prime minister indicated that Turkey's esteem among foreign nations was growing day by day and that "the fact that the creditor nations were sending their finance ministers to sign agreements was a sign of prestige." To a newsmen who asked, "Will your government resign if early elections are not approved?" he responded, "We did not say that we would resign if early elections were not voted. Early elections are one thing, the government is another. If our government resigns, two months later Turkey will be right back in the same situation it was in during November 1979. As long as we have the confidence of the parliament we shall continue in office. Our fellow citizens would otherwise ask us where we were going and in whose hands we were leaving the country. We are a government of duty, we are not just filling chairs."

At this point a reporter cited Erbakan's demand that if there are early elections there must be a curfew and everyone must be obliged to stay at home and the ballot box passed from house to house, to which Demirel responded as follows:

"This kind of procedure is practiced nowhere in the world. What an idea, to shut every citizen in his home and carry around the ballot box! The ballot box is a very delicate thing." Demirel also found strange Erbakan's assertions that the JP and RPP were obstructing early elections, and said, "One must fear God. Everything is quite obvious. Erbakan kept shouting to us, 'come, come,'"

"So we came. The JP representatives were all on the committee, but you saw everything the NSP officials did to obstruct things. This is called 'in flagrante'. There is something in Islam called being faithful to one's vows. It is a principle of Islam. It means carrying out what you promise. You do not say later on that you were just kidding. This nation will no longer permit this bloodletting to continue. We shall go even to the smallest villages to explain this."

Another reporter asked, Erbakan said early elections on 26 October. Now he says 2 November. How do you judge this?" Demirel responded, "We did not set any date. The one who set it changed it." Demirel reiterated that Ecevit was evading the issue of early elections, and said, "There is no use in trying to make sense out of idle chatter. When he says that fascism will follow early elections does he mean to say that the people are aspiring to fascism? Anyway he is accustomed to speaking in inconsistencies. It is one thing in the morning, something else at noon, and still another thing in the evening." In reply to yet another question the prime minister reiterated that Jerusalem could never be the capital of Israel and stated that even were Turkey alone in this she was determined to hold to this line.

Speech at the Cornerstone Laying Ceremonies

The prime minister, who returned to Ankara yesterday at 1600 hours, said in a speech at the cornerstone laying ceremonies for a 12,000-dwelling seashore town that he wished his fellow citizens to view the future with confidence and not to permit their morale to sag. The prime minister added, "The communists who wish to undermine the roots of democracy will be disappointed in their desires."

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CSO: 4907

DEMIREL ACCUSES ERBAKAN OF STALLING ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 23 Aug 80 p 7

[Text] The JP [Justice Party] Chairman General and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel has complained about the committee which is considering the motion for early elections and especially regarding the committee chairman. Drawing attention to the fact that the motion ought to have been passed by now, he said, "I am going to stump this nation from one end to the other and complain about these people who are obstructing the course of our nation, who are throwing rocks under Turkey's wheels."

Demirel yesterday attended a routine weekly meeting with Acting President Caglayanoglu and replied to various questions put to him by newsmen as he was leaving the Presidential Palace. To a question regarding early elections he said that the committee which is considering the motion for early elections ought to have passed it by now and continued as follows:

"The committee chairman is a member of the NSP [National Salvation Party]. 11 members are from the JP, NSP and the NAP [Nationalist Action Party] and 10 members are from the RPP [Republican People's Party]. Since these three parties have each separately supported the issue of early elections this motion ought to have been passed during the past three days. This is the motion. It is not a bill with 100, 150 or 10 articles. But it could not pass. The committee does not run itself. The committee chairman runs it. You cannot get any results from this committee by working two and a half hours a day. Consequently the committee has attracted the attention of the nation. If they had wished they could have passed it. But the NSP Chairman General in a 17 August press conference called upon the JP in such a manner as almost to fly out of the screen, saying come on, come, come. Well the JP came, but no results have yet been achieved."

Demirel said that the NSP was responsible for dragging out and delaying the early elections motion and asked "What is it they say and what is it they do?" And noting that early elections were necessary to Turkey he continued as follows:

"The country needs early elections. In this way the nation will come up with a new government instead of the constant reshuffling process in Ankara. I want this effort to work out successfully and I still hope that it will. I am going to stomp this country from one end to the other and complain about those who are obstructing the course of the nation.

"...There are ways to get the nation to choose the government and to put an end to the fight for control of the government among the various contenders. We say, let us go to the nation rather than avoiding it. Whenever the country is paralyzed, whenever the spokesmen cannot agree, whenever the various sides cannot understand each other it is time to go before the judges instead of further confusing one's intellect.

"It is not possible to defend the avoidance of elections and the refusal to go the nation. God forbid that anyone should fall into that situation. I shall complain about those who are putting rocks under Turkey's wheels. Whether or not they go for early elections I shall go from one end of the country to the other to complain against them."

Prime Minister Demirel said that a great many things in Turkey were subject to debate and he found this to be quite natural. "I have never been content with the minimum," he added, and went on to say:

"In the course of these debates the country tends to lose sight of a number of important issues. There is a government in Turkey. All the units are under the government and the government runs them. The government must deal with all of the problems; there is no problem of the country that has been suspended. The government is making all possible legitimate efforts against anarchy, terrorism, subversion and divisiveness, using the armed forces, the police, security forces and administration--and results will be forthcoming.

"The country has economic problems. The struggle against inflation is going very well. This monster will be brought to heel and the great difficulties it has brought about will be overcome. The deficient Turkey of 1979 is today's Turkey of abundance.

"Life is not at a stand-still in the country, it is going on. Efforts are under way to inject new potentialities into the arteries of the country so that life may continue. The political disputes in Ankara are known to all. But no one should permit these political disputes to confuse their intellects. Libertarian democracy means that everyone may say what he wishes. The political difficulties will be brought to rest."

To a reporter who reminded him that strikes had been on the increase recently, Demirel replied, "The strikes have reduced production to a significant measure." and he added that this situation has caused difficulties in obtaining loans and in procuring goods from abroad.

IDEOLOGY OF 12 SEPTEMBER COUP ATATURKIST

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 17 Sep 80 p 5

/Article by Professor Ismet Giritli: "12 September and Kemalism"/

/Text/ It is obvious from the communiques and statements in connection with the "12 September" operation which the Turkish Armed Forces had no choice but to carry out that the action was "Kemalist" in nature and intent. If, in fact, one recalls the attachment of the Turkish Army to Ataturk and his principles, it is impossible even to think that this "operation" carried out throughout the chain of command within the duty to protect and preserve the Republic which Ataturk founded could have as a basis any ideology other than Kemalism.

Moreover, the head of the operation, Mr Evren, in the communiques he published and the statement he made on 12 September in his capacity as chairman of the National Security Council, revealed the reasons for the operation on one hand and, on the other, stressed its "Kemalist" nature.

In fact, as Mr Evren also pointed out: "The State of the Republic of Turkey which the great Ataturk entrusted to us has in recent years been under traitorous ideological and physical attack through the provocations of internal and external enemies directed against its existence, regime and independence. Despite this /as published/ "The state and its major organs have been brought to a nonfunctioning state, the constitutional institutions have been engulfed in controversy or silence, the political parties with their sterile conflicts and irreconcilable attitudes have been unable to ensure the unity and togetherness to save the state and have been unable to take the necessary measures... Through the breeding of reactionary and other distorted ideas instead of Ataturkism, the institutions of education from the primary schools to the universities, the executive system, the judiciary organs, the internal security organization, the labor organizations, the political parties and, finally, even our citizens in the most innocent corners of our country have been subjected systematically and seditiously to attack and pressure and brought to the brink of division and civil war."

Forced to Say 'Stop'

And so, the Turkish Armed Forces were forced to take over the national administration in order to say "Stop" to those who would push into impotence and sink into darkness a little more every day the strong Turkish state which Ataturk left in national unity and togetherness and which is unable to protect its regime and principles and to restore functioning to democracy and the Ataturkist principles, because "Despite the promises of the various governments which have been in power to date to give priority to the decisions and measures to ensure internal security against the penetration and subversion activities of the special war which is spreading more rapidly every year and countless examples of which have been seen in the history of the world, their efforts to obtain results have got lost and disappeared among petty political conflicts and simple party schemes, whims, dreams and unrealistic demands as well as among secret and obvious ambitions adverse to the qualities of the Turkish state."

Moreover, "the concept of the legal state which they talk about constantly has been interpreted by some of the constitutional institutions albeit at the cost of dividing the state as the defense of individuals only, and the defense of the state and the nation has none to claim it... While separatist and subversive activities with external and internal sources were promulgated with great violence, how tragic that the defenders of autonomy, no part of which was realistic, of narrow-minded scientism in which no one but the originator could believe and of pure law which failed to take the circumstances into account seemed not to comprehend that those left in the debris of the destroyed state would be annihilated... In this critical period, the political parties chose to let internal tensions grow and to create a milieu for electioneering as though they were in a race to incite subversive and separatist agitators with statements and actions to give them courage and encouragement... Chasing after every single vote, our political parties found advantages in stirring up sectoral differences which had been forgotten since Ataturk's republican period and were the cause of our citizens' killing each other for political purposes in the provinces of Erzincan, Sivas, Kahramanmaraş, Tunceli and Çorum."

For all these and many other reasons known to us all, then, the Turkish Armed Forces were forced to take over administration of the state in order to protect the integrity of the nation and the people and the rights, laws and freedom of the people; to rescue them from fear by providing safety of life and property; to ensure peace and tranquillity; and to restore and perpetuate impartially the rule of law and order, or in other words, the authority of the state.

"Political Midgets"

The Turkish Armed Forces have in the need, in the great Ataturk's words, to allow the expression of the national culture at the highest level of modern civilization and to realize a period of rapid development directed

toward the goal of putting our country in possession of the best and most sophisticated means and resources the world has to offer. And the Turkish Armed Forces, springing from the bosom of our great nation, impartial in the polarization of the country and marching only toward the Ataturkist principles, rightly feel no doubt that their administration will be trusted.

The National Security Council, with the thought that to bring us out of the present crisis, a way of life which emphasizes discipline and conservation in every respect is an essential factor in the emergence of a climate of solidarity and in the provision of domestic peace and tranquillity, believes in the need to remain loyal to the principle of "Peace at Home, Peace Abroad" in the policy of taking impetus and inspiration from the nationalism of Ataturk and to instill and develop a full comprehension of the spirit of the National Struggle and the commitment to national sovereignty and the revolution and principles of Ataturk.

Despite the failure of the "political midgets" to learn any lesson at all from "27 May" and "12 March," the Turkish Armed Forces, acting within the "intelligence and consciousness" of Kemalism, seem to have taken advantage of the experience of both these actions: We see concrete examples of their having learned from the two previous experiences in their refusal to incriminate the members of parliament for their political activities, the decision at the moment the Turkish Armed Forces took over to make use of administrators who would serve impartially and fairly on behalf of the state and the decision to turn administration of the nation over to an administration based on the rules of libertarian democratic, secular and social law after the preparation of an Elections Law, a Parties Law and a Constitution appropriate to Turkish society and which will prevent the degeneration and paralysis as at present of the free, democratic parliamentary system.

It is the debt of every honorable and patriotic Turkish citizen who believes in libertarian democracy and the Ataturkist principles and who desires the transition to a normal regime as soon as possible to help and support the 12 September administration in this difficult but necessary task.

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TURKISH-EC RELATIONS TO CONTINUE

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 17 Sep 80 pp 1,11

/Text/ Brussels (HURRIYET) -- While the military intervention continues to reverberate throughout the world, the Common Market has announced that it will take no measures against Turkey. Reportedly, NATO will also support the new administration.

In a joint communique which the Common Market foreign ministers published following the "political cooperation" meeting which lasted until midnight two days ago, they announced that they would continue to promote cooperation with Turkey.

The communique pointed out that developments in Turkey were being followed closely and with interest and said, "The ministers take note of the assurances given by the Turkish military authorities that the democratic institutions will be quickly restored, that human rights will be respected and that the politicians who are in custody will be treated well. The ministers fervently hope that these promises will be kept fully and promptly. The Community will continue to pursue its relations with Turkey within this understanding."

According to reports leaked from the meeting, the West German and British foreign ministers said that it was necessary to bear in mind the good will of the military which had intervened in Turkey and that it would be well to wait a while before reaching a definite decision. The foreign ministers of the two nations requested that relations with Turkey continue normally.

Observers maintain that the official communique by the EC ministers shows the community's intention to continue good relations with the new regime in Turkey and that it has decided to support this regime for a while.

Meanwhile, the United States and West Germany announced that Turkey would retain its important position within NATO and that the new administration would be supported by NATO.

The announcement was made by the West German Foreign Ministry following a meeting in Bonn between U.S. Undersecretary of State Warren Christopher and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The European Parliament also discussed the situation in Turkey at the first meeting after its recess.

German Prime Minister Helmut Schmidt requested the full text of the press conference which General Kenan Evren held yesterday morning. Turkey's Bonn Ambassador Vahit Halefoglu delivered the text personally, giving it to West German Foreign Ministry political counselor Van Well to be forwarded to Schmidt.

A meeting between Halefoglu and Van Well had been scheduled for last night but as Halefoglu brought the text in the morning, the meeting was held earlier. Ambassador Suat Bilge and Kamuran Gurun, who had made a special trip to Bonn from Ankara, also attended the meeting.

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CSO: 4907

VISA TALKS TO CONTINUE IN ANKARA

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 18 Sep 80 p 3

/Text/ Cologne -- The topic of visas which the Turkish public has been watching anxiously for some time in the Turkish-German visa talks being held in Bonn has changed its name, and Turks coming to West Germany will no longer be given "visas" but will receive long- or short-term residency "permits," it was announced. Thus, according to an earlier agreement between Turkey and West Germany that there should be no fees charged for visas, the name has been changed and replaced by a residency permit for which a fee is charged. The "free visa" proposed by the Turkish delegation at the meeting held at the Interior Ministry was accepted by the German officials, but the proposal was later rejected at the Foreign Ministry meeting.

The talks have dwelled on changing the name of the visa to "residency permit" and charging a variable fee depending on the length of time for which the permit is issued. Thus a residency permit would cost between 4 marks and 15 marks, with a 3-month residency permit costing 15 marks and transit passage, 4 marks.

Who Will Get Visas?

The Bonn meetings resulted in a decision to resume the talks in Ankara. The two nations' delegations will meet to review the matter in Ankara on a date to be set later.

Turkish delegation chairman Kamran Gurun made the following statement on the Turks who would be given residency permits:

"There will be no change of procedure concerning Turks who have legal residency and work permits in West Germany. This is the procedure which will apply to everyone according to the decision made by the Germans. Only official passport holders, holders of diplomatic, special and service passports, will not receive visas. Visas will be required of everyone except Turkish workers holding work and residency permits and holders of official passports. Our initiatives regarding immediate issuance of visas to certain

groups were met positively. Turkish workers who work in countries neighboring Germany will be able to pass with the work and residency permit stamps in their passports by getting short term residency permits from Germany. The permits to be issued to businessmen who come from Turkey to Germany, as for Turkish workers employed in neighboring countries, will be long-term, allowing several passages, thus avoiding the need for frequent trips to the German consulates. Turkish workers who invite relatives from Turkey will be able to get the necessary permits by sending the appropriate documents."

Kamran Gurun pointed out that the basic purpose was to prevent entry by persons seeking jobs in Germany and said, "Resolution of the asylum problem also depends on measures to be taken by the two nations. It is a problem which affects us more than the Germans. This matter, which the Germans call "economic asylum," cannot be prevented by our efforts alone."

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CSO: 4907

VIEWS GIVEN ON FATE OF ORDU RPP

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 22 Aug 80 p 5

[Text] The subject of the RPP [Republican People's Party] Provincial and Central District organizations in Ordu which were dissolved by the RPP Central Headquarters has given rise to a number of differing views.

Views of Those Whose Organizations Were Dissolved

According to what could be determined by CUMHURIYET's correspondent, the views of the dissolved wing have been expressed as follows:

"They have been looking for a long time to find a provincial chairman there who came from the local area but they were not able to find one. This effort went on for 15 or 20 days. Ferda Guley is not from the Ordu Provincial Center. He does not have a house there either. Despite this he was placed in charge of such an operation. Our former Senator Sevkettin Koksali also did not visit Ordu as much as nine times during his term as senator, but now he has been made District Chairman. The leadership is taking a chance when they purge the present parliamentarians in the face of approaching elections. The operation in reality was directed at certain parliamentarians in Ordu.

"The provincial chairman who was dismissed was lawyer Rahmi Guner. He has had a number of jobs ever since the beginning of the Ecevit movement. He was a member of the Provincial Administrative Council and before that he served as chairman of the Central District Party Organization. From 1972 until after 1974...until before 1977 he was provincial chairman, after Ortugrul Gunay resigned... A year ago he was re-elected as provincial chairman in the last party congress by a unanimous vote. He was a leader in the 1977 elections, and one of the staff that produced the best election results in Turkey. Certainly this was not a single-handed accomplishment, but he had a share in it. This is the kind of party official he was."

"There is a YSE union [Highway, Water and Electric Power workers] there. Despite all the pressures against them the RPP supporters among the membership are in control."

Among the Teachers

"For many years the teachers' associations in Ordu have refused to surrender to the splinter groups (there are the Halkci Ogretmenler and the Halkci Egitimciler). The RPP supporters had a share in this effort too."

The views of the Central Party Headquarters can be summarized as follows:

"It is very dangerous to go toward something else within the ranks of the RPP. We cannot have cliques in the party. They make fun of the party. The man is an RPP member, sits in the district party organization, consisting of four persons, and he does everything he can to alienate the party members from the party..."

It is claimed that the following incident occurred in one of the dissolved provincial organizations. A group of persons who were dissatisfied with the JP [Justice Party] wanted to join the RPP and when they went to the regional office of the RPP they were told by the people who were there at the time, "What business do you have in the RPP?...Do you hope for any assistance from this revisionist party?...From Ecevit?...Have you taken leave of your senses?..." The notes of this conversation in the party building were obtained and sent to the general headquarters.

Spokesmen at the RPP Central Headquarters say, "We have to be consistent... Are we RPP here or the headquarters of something else?...If we have to say it more plainly, we cannot convince the unbeliever. How can we persuade others to join the RPP if we do not like what we are doing ourselves? Those in the leadership must be very careful.

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CSO: 4907

INDICTMENTS FILED AGAINST NAP ENUMERATED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 29 Aug 80 p 2

[Text] Ankara, 29 Aug--CUMHURİYET BUREAU--The number of indictments filed with the Attorney General's Office, charging the NAP and NAP officials with acts in violation of the Law on Political Parties, has risen to eight. These indictments were issued by the State Prosecutor's Offices in Ankara, Istanbul, and Zonguldak, by the Ankara Martial Law Command, and by the Istanbul Military Prosecutor's Office.

The indictments filed against the NAP and its officials are listed as follows:

1--In the matter of incidents originating from the NAP's Istanbul Gultepe Youth Auxiliaries on various dates during 1978, the Youth Auxiliaries' Chairman Yunus Neral and nine of his friends were arrested, and a dossier (number 6-66-392-1978) charging the NAP was filed with the Attorney General's Office.

2--It having been established that NAP sympathizer and violent offender Ferhat Tuysuz had connections with the NAP in the crime of murder for political reasons in Istanbul on 6 October 1978 and succeeding dates, dossier number (6-66-420-1978) has been sent to the Attorney General's Office in Ankara.

3--In connection with the case of Metin Ozden, murdered in the Kocamustafa clubhouse belonging to the NAP's Faith District organization on 3 October 1978 for "having turned his back on the cause," Huseyin Keser, Hacı Binciler, and Bayram Cetin were arrested, following which charges were laid before the Attorney General's Office by the prosecutor's office with dossier number (6-6-484-1978).

4--Upon the NAP's General Administrative Committee's communiques of 2 October 1978 containing a call for the armed forces to overthrow the government, the Ankara Public Prosecutor's Office took action and applied for assistance to the Attorney General's Office with dossier number (1-33-3523-1979).

5--Following the armed clash on 14 February 1978 leading to the arrest of UGD [Idealist Youth Association] President Celal Kurudere and members Cengiz Guner and Aytekin Yazici in Zonguldak, the prosecutor's office laid charges before the Attorney General's Office.

6--The Military Prosecutor's Office of the Istanbul Martial Law Command filed charges with the Attorney General's Office against the NAP's District officials for illegal possession of explosives and harboring certain criminals during July 1979 at the NAP's Bakirkoy District Headquarters.

7--The Ankara Martial Law Command filed charges with the Chief State Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals against NAP Assistant General Secretaries Yasar Okuyan and Nevzat Kosoglu and the NAP's member of parliament from Konya Ihsan Kabadayi, for having incited the suspects to action in the case of the murder of Assistant State Prosecutor Dogan Oz in November 1979.

8--Lately, the Ankara Martial Law Command once again filed charges with the Attorney General's Office, charging that the NAP was connected with the MISK [Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions] and had acted in violation of the Law on Political Parties.

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CSO: 4907

ACADEMIES DECIDE TO STOP TEACHING

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Aug 80 pp 1, 9

[Text] Istanbul News Service. In reaction to a decision taken by the Inter-University Council, the Board of Academies for the Economic and Commercial Sciences has decided to halt teaching in all academies until new solutions can be reached. The decision concerns the 1980-81 scholastic year and does not involve previously scheduled and announced examinations.

The decision to stop both teaching and the admission of new students affects approximately 60,000 students in faculties or affiliated schools of higher education in Istanbul, Ankara, Eskişehir, Adana, Bursa and Trabzon. In addition, the Board of Academies for Engineering and Architecture is to meet at a yet undetermined date and reach a decision concerning the continuation of teaching. Should this board reach a similar verdict, more than half of all institutions of higher education will have suspended their activities for an undetermined period of time.

No announcement has been made as to what is meant by the new solutions mentioned in the decision taken by the Board of Academies. However it is felt that the adoption of a single item proposal concerning academies and currently awaiting consideration in Parliament is the underlying motivation. It also appears that a promise in this direction has been obtained from the minister of education who attended the meetings of the Board of Academies.

The surprise decision by the Board of Academies has stunned public opinion. It reads as follows:

"It has been decided by unanimous vote to postpone teaching activities as well as the registration of new students at all academies for the period 1980-81. This has been brought about by a decision of the Inter-University Council that not only prevents the assigning of students to certain academic faculties, but also places in doubt the legal rights and status of existing students. This has created a situation in which the academies have little choice in the cancellation of classes until new solutions can be reached."

Earlier, the Inter-University Council had decided to not go through with the centrally controlled registration in a number of the faculties at the academies. The council indicated that several lawsuits filed by the universities against the academies had resulted in a decision by the Constitutional Court to stop the activities of these newly opened faculties and that the council was basing its decision on these developments. The decision of the Inter-University Council and a similar decision by the Inter-University Student Selection and Placement Center (USYM) excluded several faculties affiliated with academies from the centrally structured student placement system. In addition, academies were asked to either convert these faculties into academic departments or to assume themselves the responsibility of admitting students on the basis of criteria such as rank. The academies, however, reacted very strongly to the decision of the Inter-University Council and called a series of meetings that were attended by the minister of education.

Following lengthy debates and mutual accusations, the decision by the Board of Academies for the Economic and Commercial Sciences to suspend education has given the matter a much more serious aspect. As there can be no question of suspending education for the 60,000 students of the affected faculties, departments and institutions of higher education in several provinces of Turkey, a quick resolution of the problem will become necessary.

According to the academies, a most decisive solution would be the adoption by both houses of Parliament of a single item proposal that would elevate academies to the status of institutions at par with universities, and bring an end to the controversy. However, given the prevailing conditions in Parliament, the nature as well as the timing of such a decision--if one can be reached at all--remains debatable. Moreover, the upcoming academic year has been scheduled to start earlier than usual so that mid-year vacations can be extended to alleviate the effect of the shortage in heating fuel. Should a solution that is in conformity with the expectations of the academies not come about or should the academies maintain their current stand, the 1980-81 school year will be delayed and tens of thousands of students will be confronted with uncertainty for the future. This may in turn result in very many social and political incidents.

It has been learned that the academies have had various meetings with political parties and government officials concerning the single item proposal in question and have requested concrete actions. However, neither the minister of education representing the government nor the individuals representing opposition parties have made any concrete efforts beyond indicating during the discussions that the academies were making legitimate demands.

The decision by the board of academies is accompanied by a declaration summarizing the background of the conflict between the academies and universities. The declaration may be outlined as follows:

"It is known that in 1971 private institutions of higher education in very many fields, such as pharmacy, chemistry, dentistry and engineering, were formally affiliated with the academies following a refusal by the universities to admit academies into the framework existing for universities. After emerging as new structures, the academies branched out into faculties for the purposes of facilitating administration and providing instruction in the above mentioned fields."

"Claiming that such faculties had no basis in law, the Universities of Ankara and Istanbul obtained from the Constitutional Court a decision to halt the establishment and continued operation of the faculties. Following this, Parliament affirmed through Law No 2095 the right of academies to establish faculties. This time the Universities of Ankara and Istanbul petitioned the Supreme Court to overturn this law. The Supreme Court however upheld the conformity of the law with the constitution by stating that the establishment of faculties is not a right belonging exclusively to universities."

"Although the issue appeared to be settled by the Supreme Court decision it re-emerged in the limelight following the establishment of medical faculties by the academies of Istanbul and Ankara. Once again the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara petitioned the Constitutional Court and argued that the administrative and instructional functions of certain faculties should be cancelled on the basis that they constituted a detriment to the interests of the Universities. The academies, however, argued the finality of the Supreme Court's decision and declared themselves unable to accept a decision by the Constitutional Court."

"Following a request by the prosecuting universities, the Inter-University Council decided to stop the placement of students through the Inter-University Student Selection and Placement Center in some faculties for this year and in all academies for the year 1981. The council also claimed that the status of the diplomas obtained by those students who are currently enrolled at the academies would assume a controversial status."

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CSO: 4907

INDUSTRIALISTS URGE PRODUCTION INCREASE

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Aug 80 pp 1, 9

[Text] ANKARA, (CUMHURİYET BUREAU)--A meeting devoted to "current problems in industry" took place yesterday in Ankara. It was one of a series of meetings organized by chambers of commerce, chambers of industry and commercial stock exchanges to discuss problems confronting industry, commerce and stock exchanges.

Attended by the heads of various governing boards within chambers of industry as well as some ministers, the meeting was opened by Mehmet Yazar, president of the Union of Chambers [industry and commerce]. Yazar stated that the decisions taken on 24 January were meeting with success and that these decisions had by now "evolved into a new phase". Stating that "the motivating spirit behind the 24 January decisions was the placement of the economy on a market-oriented track through constitutional means." Yazar continued:

"Inflation, the most significant of problems, has been brought under control during the last seven months. The tendency within the economy towards dual pricing and excessive demand has disappeared. The shortage in foreign exchange has lost its effect. Transfers of currency that are overdue have dropped to only 100 million dollars and the populace has shed its psychology of need."

Stating that the new guidelines on interest rates had brought about an increase in savings deposited at banks and that these savings now amounted to almost 40 billion liras, Yazar continued:

"Despite this favorable situation, today the time has arrived to take new economic measures. Small and medium size industrialists are prevented by high interest rates from making use of the sums being accumulated in banks, as interest rates approaching 60 percent are preventing them from conducting business. The processes of increasing production and revitalizing demand are the issues of our day. Production has decreased during the first six months. I do not interpret this as a bad sign since the situation may

change during the second six-month period. Tight monetary policy should not stifle production. A trend towards investment has not yet emerged. With today's interest rates this is not possible. A way must be found to channel low-interest credits through the banks to productive fields. A new tax code must be adopted without fail. Turkey will not leave the dire economic straits it finds itself in through pleasant solutions. The way out will be painful. Also, an improvement should be brought about in the area of labor relations. To bring about better labor relations, I invite workers to meet with the government."

Kiratlioğlu's Address

Following Mehmet Yazar, Kiratlioğlu, minister of energy and natural resources, took the floor. Kiratlioğlu provided information concerning the status of Turkey's petroleum supplies. He stated that petroleum worth 2 billion 615 million liras has so far been imported by Turkey in the year 1980. Indicating that last year's petroleum imports amounted to 1 billion 958 million liras, Kiratlioğlu stated that at the moment 600,000 tons of raw petroleum, 400,000 tons of fuel oil and 250,000 tons of diesel oil remained in reserve at refineries. He stated that 892,000 tons of raw petroleum were in transit and that by 15 October Turkey's petroleum needs would be met.

Claiming that the days to come will not be disquieting in an economic sense, the minister of energy and natural resources said: "As long as we remain in office, there will be no shortages or scarcity in Turkey."

Bayar's Speech

The meeting also focused on current industrial problems and was later addressed by the minister of energy and technology. Comparing the economy to a sick man with high fever, Bayar stated that "while the fever has dropped somewhat, nobody should expect the man to get up and run a 100-meter race." Bayar said that the measures taken so far were having a positive effect upon the economy. [Speaking figuratively] he stated that "the decisions of 24 January did not amount to the rediscovery of America but helped to tie the organic link that should exist between the political regime and the economic regime." Stating that this brought about a "fulfillment of the political model through economic measures" he continued:

"We have achieved success in our struggle against inflation and today we have reached the stage where we must resolve the problems of investment and production. It has been proven that the economy can function in good health. I have approached the Board for Money and Credit with matters that pertain to new economic measures and in particular to differences in currency exchange rates. We have made certain recommendations to eliminate the damage brought about by differences in exchange rates. These recommendations have not yet evolved into decisions. Currently, the matter concerns the measures that have to be taken to cope with the money shortage."

Following these addresses, representatives from Turkey's various chambers of industry took the floor. They provided information concerning the problems in their respective regions and requested solutions to these from the ministers and public officials attending the meeting.

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CSO: 4907

BOOST IN MINIMUM WAGE ASKED

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 23 Aug 80 p 9

[Text] Some time ago workers were gratified when the Secretary General of Turk-Is, Sadik Side, meeting with the Minimum Wage Committee, came up with a demand to raise the minimum wage to at least 8,000 liras. The workers spoke out on this subject saying, "However, the minimum wage should be set at 12,000 liras," and went on as follows:

"In 1979 the minimum wage was set at 5,400 liras. The 1979 rate of inflation turned out to be 120 percent. By the best estimates the rise in cost of living in 1980 is expected to be 60 percent. That is to say, in the period which has elapsed since the last determination of the minimum wage the cost of living has risen 200 percent. According to these statistics a new minimum wage should be set at not less than 12,000 liras. Moreover there should be no deductions for taxes from this 12,000. In this way the 200 percent rise in prices ought to be balanced off."

At the same time it is being demanded of the Turk-Is Administrative Council, scheduled to meet in September on the issue and put pressure on the government, that they obtain the minimum wage increase as soon as possible.

According to law a minimum wage must be refigured every other year. The latest determination was made in April 1979. However, in the face of inflation and the rising cost of living the determination made in 1979 has become laughable today; workers at this wage and their families are condemned to subsist on bread and olives alone. According to recent figures the number of those working at the minimum wage is 65 percent of all wage earners, and these workers are able to afford meat at their meals only twice in the course of a month.

What is the Minimum Wage?

In western countries the minimum wage, which is known as the sacred wage, is described by the trade unions in the following manner:

"The wage which ensures a living standard suitable to the worker from a social standpoint and which must be paid for the output of the worker regardless of his sex, level of capability or experience, is the minimum wage. In other words it is a wage paid to workers in the same type of work in return for a normal day's work which is sufficient to cover the worker's normal needs such as food, shelter, clothing, health, fuel and lighting. On the other hand those who work at the minimum wage level, like all other wage earners, are living together with their families. The wage paid to a worker is one which must ensure the livelihood of a family."

Nevertheless the employers' sector has come out against considering the factor of family support in the reckoning of a minimum wage and is demanding that it be determined on the basis of an individual's needs.

As we know, in 1968 a universal and scientific method of determining the minimum wage in Turkey was adopted and put into effect. From the first time such a determination was made up to the present the membership of the committee which sets the minimum wage has been made up of representatives, one third of whom are from the government, one third from the employers' sector and one third from Turk-Is.

In April 1979 a minimum wage of 5,400 liras was announced.

Four Principles

In the days ahead Turk-Is is calling upon the government to take the following four principles as the basis for re-determining the minimum wage:

- The character of the minimum wage serving to offset the inequities in the distribution of income must be preserved;
- The characteristic of a social wage must not be lost sight of in the course of the determination;
- The worker must certainly be considered in conjunction with his family, a principle which we [Turk-Is] consider of utmost importance, toward which we took an important step last time, and which we believed we would bring to completion this time. The worker is not a person who lives by himself and for himself. He, like everyone else, has the right to marry, to establish a family and become a parent. We must not let it slip from our memories that this right is being exercised. Therefore when the calculations leading to the determination of a minimum wage are being made, the needs of the family for food and other things must be taken into consideration, not just the needs of the solitary worker.
- The committee must work as quickly as possible. The importance of the time factor must not be lost sight of, and the determination must be made in a short period of time.

Turk-Is is also demanding that the government place a bill to exempt the minimum wage from taxation on a special agenda.

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CSO: 4907

SEE'S BEING RENTED TO PRIVATE SECTOR

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 24 Aug 80 p 3

[Story from AKAJANS news agency]

[Text] In the days ahead an "Ad hoc Specialized Commission" will be set up and begin work to insure the efficient operation of the SEE's [State Economic Enterprises] in a reorganization not considered to need statutory regulation.

Rental to the Private Sector

An official stated that the contemplated reorganization was intended especially for those establishments which had "demonstrated weaknesses in operation." He stated that SEE installations in this situation will be rented to the private sector on 15-20 year "management contracts."

The same official, noting that the TEKEL alcoholic beverage and cigarette plants might be among the SEE's affected by this measure and that there was no need for a new statutory regulation to cover this, went on to say:

"The TEKEL called for by law is a sales organization, not a producer. Under the new policy sales will still be handled by TEKEL with the objective of producing a profit for the treasury.

Regulation of the Machinery Park

The second measure under consideration in the reorganization of the SEE's is the combining of the large and small machinery parks under one large "service company." Under current practices it is noteworthy that when one establishment is in need of a certain type of machinery there is frequently the same type idle in other organizations. The point is that if the machinery parks of various organizations are combined under one large service company which can deploy items to the establishments needing them, this shortcoming will be eliminated.

Unproductive Operations To Be Discontinued

The ad hoc specialized committee which is to bring about this reorganization, apart from these basic measures, will also quickly examine each organization to determine what individual measures might be necessary and put them into effect. In the course of effecting these measures the committee will also determine and close down those organizations which may be unable to produce their goods profitably or those which are theoretically profitable but which through shortcomings in management and operation are unable to produce profitably. In this regard the example is cited of establishments which, despite every advantage in procurement of raw materials and semi-finished goods, are operating at two and a half times the cost of the world-wide average.

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